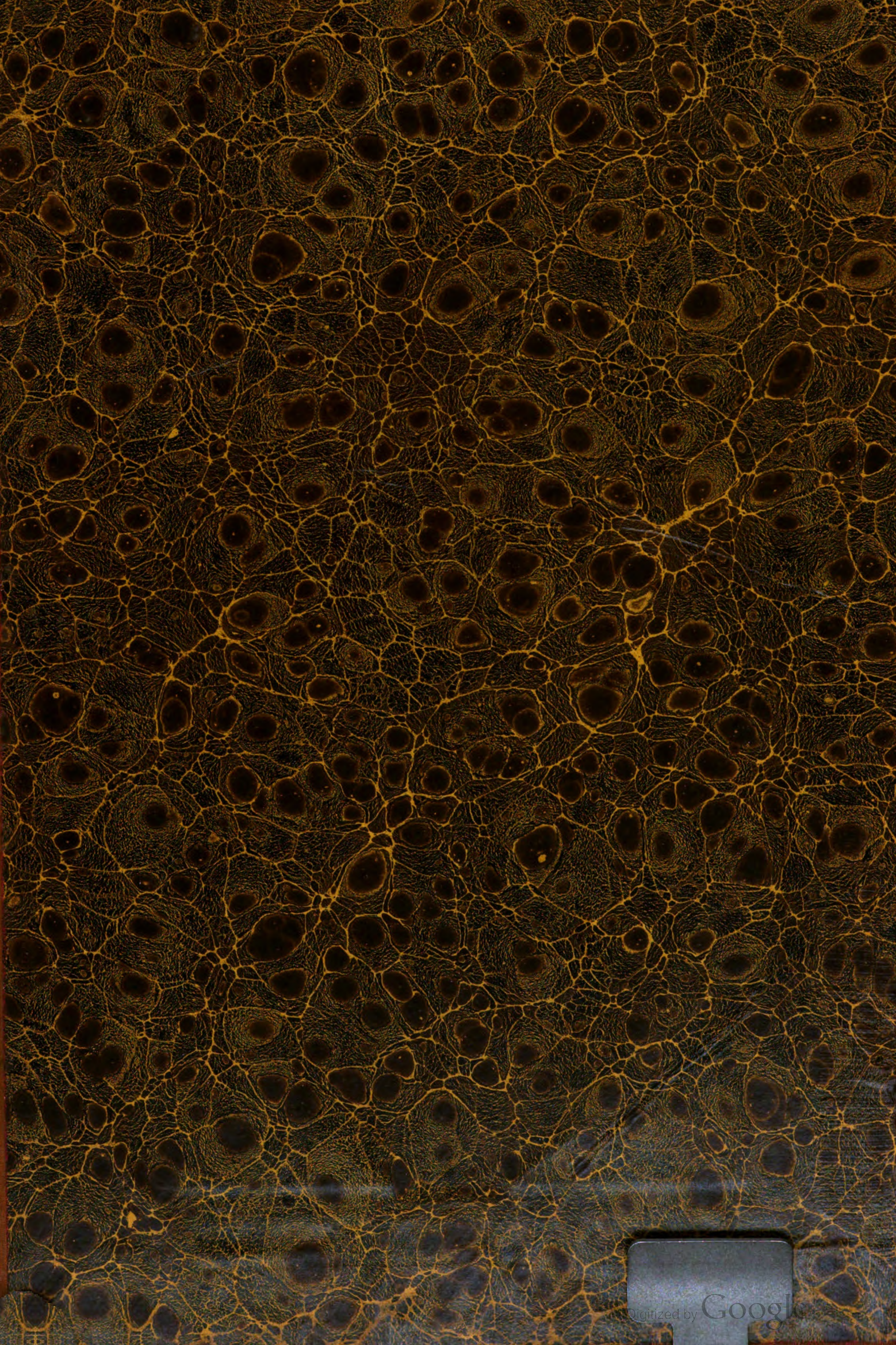
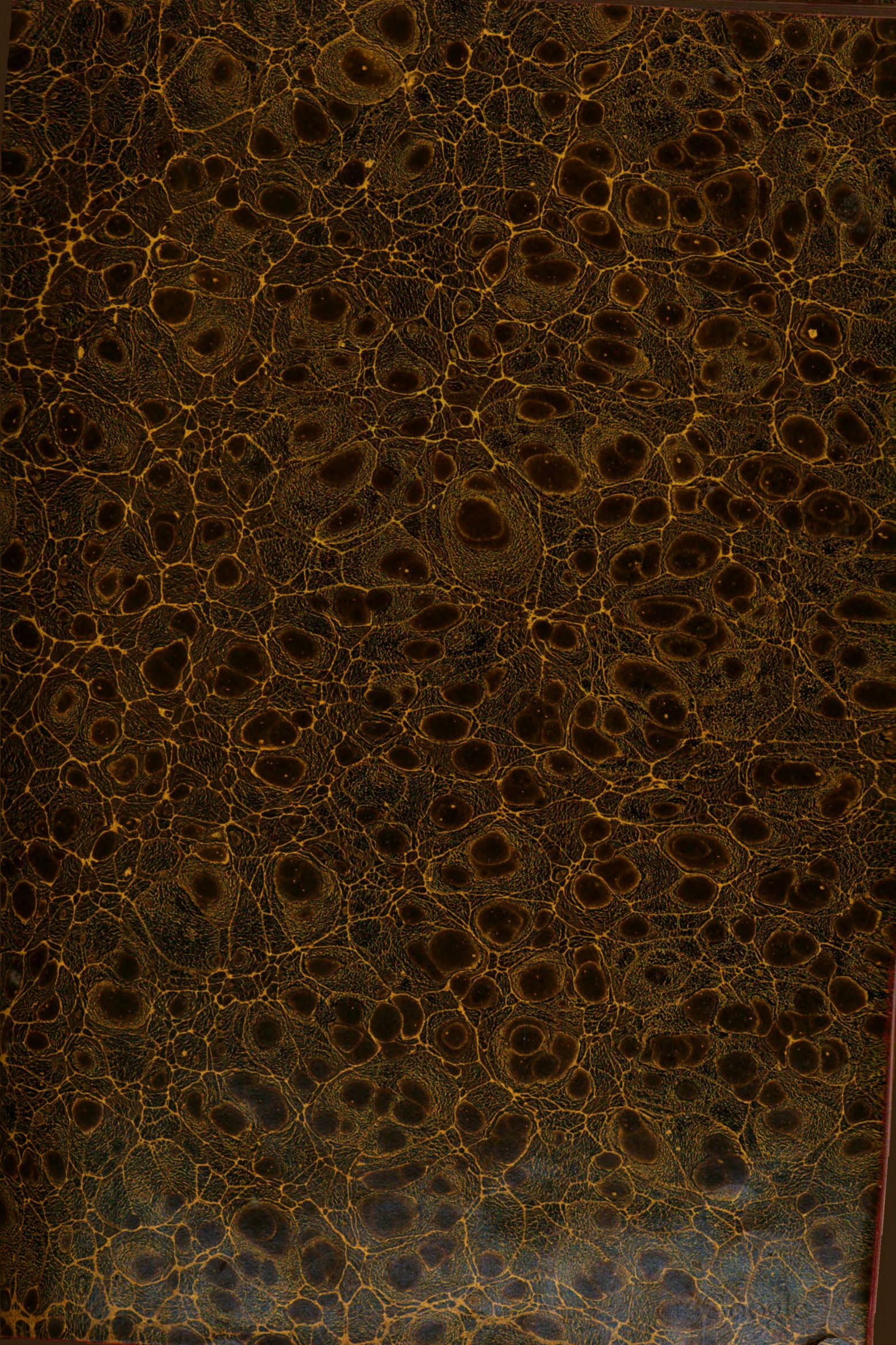


Memorial Introductory



TO THE
EARLY HISTORY OF THE
PRIMACY OF ARMAGH





Group Ad. d. - Fol. A. 215.
(Ireland)

A

MEMOIR

INTRODUCTORY TO THE EARLY HISTORY

OF THE

PRIMACY OF ARMAGH,

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT DISCIPLINE, OFFICIAL PERSONS, &c.;
OF THE IRISH CHURCH, PREVIOUSLY TO ITS SUBJUGATION TO
THE SEE OF ROME IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

BY ROBERT KING, A.B.,

DIOCESAN CURATE, ARMAGH: AUTHOR OF A
"PRIMER OF THE CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND," &c.

SECOND EDITION,

Printed for Subscribers only.

ARMAGH:

JOHN THOMPSON, GUARDIAN OFFICE, 41, ENGLISH-STREET.

1854.



DEDICATION.

TO THE RIGHT HONBLE. AND MOST REVEREND LORD, JOHN GEORGE, ARCHBISHOP OF
ARMAGH, PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL IRELAND.

MY LORD,

As it is to your Grace's kindness that the writer of the following pages has been indebted, as well for the use of the Volumes from which are drawn some of the most valuable portions of their contents, as for the circumstances which have enabled him to devote to the study of them the time and attention requisite for such an investigation,—and as, further, the subject itself here treated of is that of the early history of the See, which has, in the good Providence of God, enjoyed for so many years the benefit of your Grace's superintendence,—it appeared on these different grounds appropriate, that the work now completed, however small its pretensions in some respects, should be given to the public inscribed with your honoured name. And it is therefore with much gratitude and satisfaction that your condescending permission so to employ it has been received by the writer:—who has the honour to be, with earnest prayer for your continued health and usefulness in the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ on earth, and joyful entrance into the better kingdom which is to come,

Your Grace's very faithful

obedient servant,

ROBERT KING.

PREFACE.

For the sake of those readers of the following Essay, who shall meet with it for the first time in a complete form, it may be desirable to introduce here a brief notice of the manner of its original publication, which will help to explain some peculiarities observable in its style and appearance.

It was issued, at first, in weekly portions, at the rate of four pages (of the present size) per week, in the *Armagh Guardian Newspaper*; the Proprietor and Editor of that journal having agreed to place at the writer's disposal so much of the available space which it comprised, (amounting to an eighth of the entire paper,) for a limited period of time, free of charge or fee on either side. The publication accordingly commenced on Friday, July 29th, 1853, and was continued regularly without intermission, on each succeeding Friday, until February 3rd, 1854, when it was brought to a termination, in the 28th number from the commencement, inclusive. The title, index, &c., were given afterwards in the form of a supplement to a subsequent number of the same paper.

In addition to the copies that were circulated weekly in the Newspaper itself, of which they formed a part, two hundred others were printed off (with permission of the writer,) by the Proprietor of that paper, on his own account, for publication in a separate form, when the work should be completed. And as these copies (which are printed on a somewhat better sort of paper) are rather more correct than those which were originally circulated in the *Armagh Guardian*, many of the sheets belonging to them having undergone an additional revision after those others had been printed off, these more correct extra copies, by way of distinction from the others, are marked in the title as a *Second Edition*.

Many typographical errata may still be observed, no doubt, in all the copies: but it is satisfactory to know that they are all, so far as noticed in those which were finally struck off, of very trifling importance, inverted letters, &c., and such as in no case affect a date, or name, or any historical statement of any moment. It were superfluous, therefore, to subjoin any enumeration of errata so little likely to occasion inconvenience to the reader.

To the contents of the Essay it may be well to advert also in this place. Some of the main particulars, then, which, it is believed, have been sufficiently established by the arguments adduced or exemplified in it, are these following:—

1. That while no other form of *ordination* except the episcopal was known or heard of in Ireland in the early ages, (from the first preaching, in fact, of Christianity in the island, to the period of the British Reformation,) yet no *diocesan* episcopacy was settled in this country, or employed for the government of the Irish Church, until introduced by the Church of Rome in the twelfth century.

2. That the churches of Ireland in the preceding ages, not being subject to episcopal jurisdiction, were governed by the Successors, (appointed by a certain mode of election, and in many cases from particular families exclusively,) of certain eminent early missionaries and founders of churches, venerated as the old Saints of Ireland, and Fathers of the Irish Church. These successors were in the early ages mostly *presbyter abbots*, but sometimes also of the episcopal order, although not forming regular or continued episcopal successions. To such Abbots, or Successors, the bishops were, during that period of history, subordinate.

3. That, as there were, generally, no metropolitan archbishops then to be found in our island, so there was no such person as the *Archbishop of Armagh* ever known or heard of, or mentioned in any history or legend written in the 600 years between the death of St. Patrick, in A.D. 492, and the accession to office of his successor Kellach, in A.D. 1105. And that the establishment of such an office or personage in this place was effected only after a struggle involving much violence and excitement, (accompanied, as it appears, with war and bloodshed also,) which resulted at length in the appointment of the famous Maolmogue O'Morgair (commonly called St. Malachy,) as primate, in A.D. 1134; and was terminated more completely in the promotion of his Successor, the distinguished Gilla Mac Liag, or Gelasius, in A.D. 1137.

4. That the persons commonly known, and set forth, as the Archbishops of Armagh previously to A.D. 1100, by Ware, Lanigan, and other learned writers, were in reality the *Abbots of Armagh*. This is the name by which they are generally known in the ancient Annals of Ireland, at least in the earlier part of them: for the name *Coarbs* (or Successors,) of St. Patrick, which is also commonly given to them in those Annals, is the designation most usually employed in the later ages, from the tenth century onwards. Several of these Coarbs are noticed as having been of the episcopal order, while some of them, on the other hand, were but laymen. But no one of them included in the period above specified is in any ancient record called an *Archbishop of Armagh*.

5. That, as in the ecclesiastical government or appointments of this country, the Church of Rome had in those ages no control nor voice whatsoever, so the *church-lands* of Ireland never belonged to her jurisdiction while the natives retained their independence; but came under her power only very gradually, and by much struggling, as that independence was lost;—and that in Ulster, where such independence was retained until the reign of the Protestant Sovereign James I., those lands had never come generally into the possession of the Church of Rome or her bishops in this province.

6. Accordingly, his Grace the Lord Primate is the present representative of a succession which has always existed here from the days of St. Patrick to the present time, and the individuals belonging to which have in all cases been possessed of the chief dignity and the highest ecclesiastical jurisdiction recognised as existing in the place. But the circumstances of the office itself, and the arrangements relative to the mode of appointment to it, have greatly varied from time to time, during those 1400 years. While, for instance, from the days of Maolmogue O'Morgair downwards, all included in the series have been without exception metropolitan archbishops, before his time its members were but occasionally bishops, mostly it would seem presbyters, and several of them, as already stated, but laymen.

Thus, the twelve individuals of this series whose names are on record next before that of the famous Kellach, or Celsus, (immediate predecessor to Maolmogue O'Morgair,) with the titles given them in their several obits, in the Annals, are these following. 1. "Maelbrighe, son of Tornan, Coarb of Patrick, and of Columkille, and of Adamnan, Head of the piety of all Ireland, and of the better part of Europe," died, A.D. 925. 2. "Joseph, Coarb of Patrick, Scribe, Bishop, and Anchorite, and wisest of the Irish," A.D. 936. 3. "Maolpatrick, son of Maoltaile, Coarb of Patrick, Bishop, and wise man," same year. 4. "Casey, son of Dulgen, Coarb of Patrick, distinguished Bishop of the Irish," A.D. 957. 5.—"Murray, son of Fergus, Coarb of Patrick," A.D. 966. 6. "Dubhdaleithe, son of Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, and of Columkille," A.D. 998. 7.—"Muirechan Bocht, Coarb of Patrick," A.D. 1005. 8. "Maolmuire, son of Hoey, Coarb of Patrick, Head of all the clergy of north-western Europe, and Flood of the dignity of the western world, eminent among the wise and learned," A.D. 1020. 9. "Awley, Coarb of Patrick," A.D. 1040. 10. "Dubhdaleithe, son of Maolmuire, Coarb of Patrick," A.D. 1064. 11. "Maelisa, Coarb of Patrick," A.D. 1091. 12. "Donnell, son of Awley, noble Coarb of Patrick," A.D. 1105.

Of these twelve, the first was in all probability a *presbyter* Abbot. The next three are distinguished expressly as having been *bishops*. And the omission of a similar title from the name of the other eight will be proof enough (in the absence of other evidence,) to one experienced in the accuracy with which the Annalists generally apply these designations, that of those eight, none were, at all events, of the episcopal order. In fact, we need entertain no manner of doubt that they were the same *eight married and unordained persons*, of whose occupation of the See of Armagh before the accession of Kellach St. Bernard complains so bitterly: (see pp. 23, 94, of this Essay:) although from the preconceived notions and erroneous principles with which learned men have heretofore applied themselves to the investigation of this point, their attempts to identify the eight in question have resulted only in perplexity and confusion. But the Annals, when but permitted to speak for themselves, and fairly examined, make plain at once the doubtful history, and confirm, at the same time, by an agreement so exact, and yet so long lost sight of, with a foreign and independent writer, their own truthfulness and authenticity.

In pursuing a subject of so much difficulty, and where there was so much to discourage,—where, indeed, one had so far to feel the way in the dark, and in opposition to the suggestions and guidance of some regarded heretofore as the highest authorities in this branch of history,—it has been a considerable source of encouragement to the writer, in proceeding on, to have had from the outset the full approval of his general statements, (accompanied occasionally with valuable aid,) from one than whom few perhaps of this age are more competent to form a correct judgment of the subject,—the Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., of Ballymena; whose own very learned and accurate writings connected with the Church History of Ireland have gained him such a high and well-earned reputation. It is also a satisfaction to be able to acknowledge the kind interest manifested in the present publication by the Rev. Dr. Todd, as well as the favourable opinion which, subsequently to its completion, he has been good enough to express concerning its value and importance. To him likewise it is indebted (as almost every work of any magnitude on such a subject now-a-days must be for something or other,) for the two curious catalogues with which it closes: it having been through his kind offices that the copies of them (by the pen of Mr. E. O'Curry,) from the ancient MSS. in which they have been heretofore preserved, were procured for insertion in this Essay.

Finally, the writer's acknowledgements are due also to the Proprietor and Editor of the *Armagh Guardian*, for the arrangement which has enabled him to bring out this Essay in its present form. For, had it been left to depend on the ordinary modes of publication for its chance of seeing the light, the prudence of engaging in a work of such magnitude,—whatever the author's opinion of its value as a contribution to History,—after past experience as to the amount of public patronage bestowed on literary labours of the sort connected with Ireland,—would have been, to say the least of it, very questionable.

Armagh, March 17, 1854.

MEMOIR INTRODUCTORY TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PRIMACY OF ARMAGH.

THAT Christianity, which had already to some extent been propagated in Ireland before the coming of St. Patrick, was by his means brought to be more or less generally received in all parts of the kingdom before the end of the Fifth Century, is a fact which we may receive as established by a sufficient amount of historic evidence. But however much religion and learning came to be cultivated among the Irish people in after ages, or however great, or just, may have been the reputation which they acquired in consequence, among the nations of Europe, we shall certainly be entertaining a very mistaken view of the matter, if we suppose that ever, at any past æra of the history of our country, its population at large enjoyed the blessing of a full and intelligent reception of Christian truth. To become acquainted with testimony to the contrary, abundant and convincing, it is only necessary to examine what has been compiled on the subject, in various ages, by the Irish Annalists themselves. In the native Records, written in their own tongue, and extending downwards from the earliest period, they have carefully preserved a large mass of information of the most authentic description, bearing on this point. It is one, however, concerning which we do not propose to enter into any details in this place. Suffice it to set before the reader, the brief, but very distinct statement on the subject, of Professor O'Donovan, in one of the notes of his splendid and valuable *Annals of the Four Masters*, to the following effect:—"Nothing is clearer," says he, "than that Patrick engrafted Christianity on the Pagan superstitions with so much skill, that he won the people over to the Christian religion before they understood the exact difference between the two systems of belief; and much of this half-Pagan, half-Christian religion will be found, not only in the Irish stories of the middle ages, but in the superstitions of the peasantry of the present day." (At A.D., 492.)

But if the system of doctrine which obtained popular currency among them, was thus far defective, much more singular and strikingly marked was their deviation from the form of Ecclesiastical Government which appears to have been universally received in all other branches of the Christian Church. No where, for six hundred years, and more, from the death of their Apostle Patrick, do we find in their Annals the slightest trace of government by a diocesan episcopacy, such as all admit was every where else established in the age immediately succeeding that of the Apostles of the Lord. No where before the twelfth century, have we in those Annals, any single mention of a diocese, in our ordinary sense of the word, nor of a diocesan bishop. No where, in the records of the preceding ages, do we find a single instance of any of the numberless ecclesiastics noticed in them applying to his bishop for direction or advice, under any circumstances whatsoever. No where do we meet with a bishop governing a certain extent of territory, or a certain number of clergy, or engaged in any act understood to imply such jurisdiction or authority. The silence of those ancient records, of which we now speak, on all such particulars, is perfect and complete.

This silence of the earlier Annalists would go far to prove the non-existence in Ireland, in their day, of any distribution of the country into dioceses at all. But they have not left us to draw our inferences from silence merely, (a way of reasoning which is at best much less conclusive and satisfactory than that from positive statements,) but have also told us plainly, when and where the alteration took place, which reduced Ireland to conformity with other parts of the world in regard to Church order, and gave rise to the establishment of a diocesan episcopacy in this island. The Irish Historian Keating has preserved, in his well-known work, a curious and valuable record, extracted from the ancient *Book of Clonenagh*, which supplies the information here alluded to—From it we learn, that in the Synod of Rathbreasail, (probably, *Mountrath*, in the Queen's County,) held by the authority, and under the presidency of Gille, the first Legate for Ireland, in A.D., 1110, an arrangement was for the first time introduced for the division of the country into dioceses, and the appointment of a regular and permanent succession of prelates in each, to superintend them respectively, and to form a body corporate for the more general regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. In the same record is also preserved an enumeration of the dioceses then called into existence, and a detailed account of their several boundaries.

For any one, therefore, who desires to arrive at a right understanding of the ancient Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, this year 1110 marks a very important æra, before and after which two very different systems of administration of the religious affairs of the island are to be expected to be met with. From this period only must we look for any regular succession of diocesan bishops in the different sees of this country, and the attempt to trace them further back on the same foundation, so far as it ends not in total disappointment, is more likely to involve the historical inquirer in confusion, than to add to the amount of his real knowledge.

And yet this is a mistake from which our most learned writers in time past have not been wholly free. Ware's valuable *History of the Bishops*, for instance, instead of exposing, has countenanced and encouraged it; not however without exhibiting, as an inevitable consequence, a considerable amount of that confusion above alluded to, which a more philosophical study of our native records would easily enable a writer to avoid. Ware's authority has naturally led numbers of succeeding writers to follow the same erroneous notion of an episcopal succession having existed, in each of the present sees of Ireland generally, and perhaps in a few others, from the earliest period of Irish Christianity. And with writers of the Church of Rome, Lanigan, &c., it has no less naturally found favour, as quite falling in with the current of their cherished ideas relative to the antiquity, and the unchanging character, of their own system.

A person of ordinary intelligence and information, but who has never particularly studied the present subject, on first turning his mind to consider it, may naturally form the idea that the number of sees at present existing in this country is probably pretty much the same as that which was settled on soon after its conversion to Christianity, some new sees having in the course of time been added, and some old ones suppressed, but no material change having occurred in the entire system, or greatly affected the general number. One who has read a little more, even of what may be found in small popular works on the subject, meets with various indications that a far larger number of bishops were to be found here in old times,—that, according to some of the traditions of the country, they might be counted, even in a single generation, by hundreds; and that among other means by which their number may have come to be reduced, one of the most effective was that arrangement introduced at the Synod of Kells, in A.D., 1152, by Cardinal Paparo, according to which the small sees of Ireland were to be suppressed, and rural deanries substituted in their places. On arriving thus far, it appears, that a much more material change than had at first been thought of, must actually have taken place, to bring about the smallness of the number at present existing. But an idea may still remain in the mind, that no other change occurred, than that of combining and uniting the small ancient sees, to form the larger ones of more modern times; but that those smaller sees differed only in dimensions from the more extensive ones of which they afterwards went to form a part; that they had for instance, from the first settlement of a bishop in each, their several regular successions of prelates, the earlier ones of these differing from the modern only in being of somewhat humbler rank, and possessed of more limited jurisdiction.

This is accordingly a view of things which has met with support from various learned writers of recent ages; but it has

none in those ancient native records, which form the true storehouses whence our knowledge of such matters ought to be derived. *They* furnish us with a very different account of the state of affairs during the six centuries preceding the Synod of Rathbreasail; a state of affairs of which it is necessary to have some correct general notions before we can advantageously apply ourselves to study the history of that see to which the present memoir more especially relates. What, then, is in reality, the sort of ecclesiastical government presented to our view in those ancient records?

A very peculiar one, certainly; and one to which, considering its remarkable peculiarities, it is curious how little attention has been paid. Nor can any thing more than a brief outline of it be set forth in this place, accompanied however with such illustrative extracts, from the writings of ancient and modern authors, as may be suitable for verifying and elucidating more fully the statements which we venture to put forward.

The chief ecclesiastical influence and authority during the six centuries with which we are now concerned, was possessed in Ireland by the *representatives* or *successors* of individuals who had become so eminent for their talents and piety, and labors for the promoting of the Christian faith and Christian knowledge in this country, as to be regarded in the light of *Fathers of the Irish Church*. And to them, although they were generally not bishops, appears to have belonged, in an irregular sort of way, the settlement of any controversies which might arise in connection with matters of religious opinion or practice in the island.

Thus, in the case of the great controversy about Easter, between the ancient Irish, &c., and the Church of Rome, which (however unimportant in itself the point at issue between them,) was regarded by both parties as one wherein the Catholic Faith was vitally concerned, when the famous St. Cumman was much perplexed in mind as to the course which it was his duty to follow in regard to it—the mode which he adopted for arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, was this:—First, he had recourse to the exercise of private judgment in the study of the most important works bearing on the question, commencing with the Holy Scriptures; and in examination of them he occupied a year. Then, what he next proceeded to do, at the expiration of this period, he tells us himself thus:—“When the year above mentioned,” says he, “had expired, according to what is said in Deuteronomy—‘*I asked my fathers that they should shew me*’; the Successors, namely, of our ancient fathers, Bishop Ailbe, Kieran of Clonmacnoise, Brendin, Nesson, and Lugidus, what they thought of our excommunication, decreed by the Apostolic Sees aforesaid—Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria—and they having attended, either in person, or by others commissioned as their proxies, a meeting which was held in Campus Lene, passed a resolution to this effect, that—‘Our predecessors have directed us, by means of competent witnesses, some alive, and others who have fallen asleep in peace, that we should humbly and unhesitatingly adopt such more worthy and approved practices as are commended to us from the source of our baptism and instruction, and by the Successors of the Apostles of the Lord.’* And they afterwards rose up together, and made us an address on the subject in the usual form, enjoining us to celebrate Easter the following year with the universal Church. Afterwards, however, one of those present having protested against adopting this conclusion, agents were commissioned to visit Rome, (as the ‘*Head of Cities*,’ or chief city of the world, in those days,) and there obtain information as to the practice of the foreign Churches in the point at issue; which was accordingly done: but the controversy continued among the Irish long after, notwithstanding.

Cumman, we see, breathes not a word of having applied to any bishop, as such, or to any Synod of Bishops, for direction in this matter. His whole narrative implies that no such authority was recognised, as existing in the country, either by himself or his opponents. Not even to the *Successor of St. Patrick*, at Armagh, did it occur to this very learned Irishman that there was any authority or jurisdiction belonging, which he ought to have deferred to, or even referred to, in his enquiries. The ‘*Successor of Patrick*’ was certainly, from the first, the most eminent and influential of those ecclesiastical dignitaries by whom the Church affairs of Ireland were chiefly regulated. But it was only as an elder one of many brethren, who had no power to command the rest; and Cumman was obviously conscious of no disrespect to him, nor slighting of his prerogatives, in not applying to him at all in the case before us, but preferring to seek the direction which he needed from the principal ecclesiastics of a similar class in his own part of the country.

And as for the particular individuals to whom he says he did apply, *one only*, of those five, of whose successors he makes mention in this place, appears to have been a bishop, viz., Ailbe of Emly, whom he accordingly names as such. For it is well known that Kieran of Clonmacnoise was never more than a priest,† and Nesson was but a deacon.‡ The other two, Brendan and Lugidus, (or Molua, as he is called by the Irish,) appear to have been of the priestly order. They certainly cannot be proved to have been bishops.||

If it be asked, how came these men and their Successors to be regarded in such a light, and looked up to as such fountains of authority by the Irish people, we can only answer, that it appears to have been just as irregularly as many things are done in Ireland to this present day. They owed their exaltation, as far as we can learn, to no Decree or Canon of any more regularly constituted court than that of public opinion, influenced by a regard for their reputed sanctity and Christian labors. A devout individual, inspired with a missionary zeal for the propagation of Christianity, and increasing the number of churches in the island, would betake himself to a retired spot, where no clergyman had as yet begun to labour, nor church, nor school, been built. And here he would obtain, by gift of some king, or petty lord, or otherwise, a portion of land, probably neither large nor of good quality at the time, for commencing a religious establishment. This would contain a church, to form the usual place of worship of the people in the neighbourhood,—a small cell for his own residence, and humble dwelling places for those who might become his disciples. Establishments of larger endowment and greater fame would naturally include a more extensive system of machinery for religious purposes; more for instance, than a single church. Several, we know, had seven. They would be furnished also with a building for the preservation and multiplying of manuscripts. Such a building, it appears, at least, that there was in Armagh. It is called in the *Four Masters*, (at A. D., 1020,) *the House of the Manuscript*; and other departments, which we need not here enumerate, would similarly be added, as means allowed, and circumstances might seem to require. Now, to proceed with the establishment, in such a locality, of a regularly organised branch of the Church, governed in the usual form, the next step should have been to have the zealous missionary here supposed, placed under proper episcopal control and direction, or else to have himself, as might be proper in some cases, constituted first bishop of the new district in which he had been labouring; i.e., supposing him to have started in the first instance, of his own motion, and without the direction of any bishop; a case which could not, however, occur where episcopal government was fully received and regularly organised, inasmuch as that under such circumstances, the whole procedure from the commencement would have been undertaken by the authority of one or more bishops. But neither at the outset, nor afterwards, does there appear the least indication of such episcopal sanction having been had, or sought for, by those ancient Irish Church founders, of whom we now speak. Once ordained to the sacred office, they seem to have acted almost wholly independently of any external authority, in the choice of a position where to exercise their ministry; and where the founder of a church and its appurtenances in any place proved eminently successful in gaining the veneration of the people around, by sanctity, self-denial, and laborious exertions for the promotion of religion, he became there, in the tradition of after ages, the Patron

* See Usher's *Sylloge*, Ep. XI. *Works*, by Elrington, vol. iv. p. 432, seqq. + Lanigan's *Ec. Hist. of Id.*, vol. ii. p. 52. † *ib.*, p. 103. ‡ *ib.*, 30, 211.

Saint of the Church he had founded in it; and there, every idea of spiritual power and authority was almost wholly absorbed in the notion of that which was attributed to himself, and his Representatives, or Successors.

The title by which those ancient founders of churches and their successors are commonly distinguished in the early Irish Annals, and one which is continually recurring in every page of those authorities, is that of *Ab*, or Abbot; and they are often also spoken of as the founders of *monasteries*; but we must, in endeavouring to understand those names, be careful not to confound them with the abbots and monasteries of the Church of the middle ages, or suppose that there was any very close resemblance in character between both. We must refrain from attributing to the former, the antisciptural errors and abuses which prevailed in the latter, and which have been so largely exposed in connection with the history of the Reformation in particular; and we must judge of them rather by what we find written in the most authentic records of earlier times concerning their principles and practical working. It is from an examination of such evidence, that Archbishop Ussher,* the learned Bingham, Fuller, and other eminent writers, have been led to speak in terms of high commendation of the ancient Irish monastic institutions, describing them as valuable colleges of learning, seminaries for the training of a well educated clergy, establishments for the preservation and multiplying of copies of the Sacred Scriptures, and other ancient books, and missionary stations for diffusing the knowledge of Christianity and of the word of God, and for supplying the ministration of religious ordinances and Christian privileges in general, in their several neighbourhoods. There is, of course, nothing unlawful in the mere idea of men associating and dwelling together, whether the building they reside in be called a barrack or a workhouse, or a monster commercial establishment, or a monastery. The question of right or wrong must be tested by a comparison of the principles on which, and the purposes for which, they are associated, with the teaching of the Word of God. If the end be such as is for the glory of God, and the method employed in pursuit of it in other respects consistent with His revealed will, the mere circumstance of a common refectory or dormitory, or of the existence of rules and names connected with such common arrangements, cannot of themselves afford any sufficient ground for condemnation.

And if, at any one time, such a form of association might be looked upon as more lawful or expedient than at another, it would undoubtedly be at such a period as that in which the Irish monastic establishments first originated; when, from the want of any proper social order, and the general prevalence of outrage and violence, of tumult and wars, in the country, it was difficult, or next to impossible, for men disposed to lead a peaceable, industrious, and religious life, to do so in ordinary cases, without entering into some kind of association for mutual support and protection, and the promoting of education and learning, such as the monastic foundations, and they alone, appeared to offer in those days.

That a system of church government so irregular as that now described should attract the attention of Christians of other countries, and elicit from them observations on its peculiarities, when any specimens of it came particularly in their way, was very natural. A remarkable instance of this we meet with in the notice introduced by venerable Bede into his Church History of England, concerning the great Irish Church Founder, St. Columbkille, and his religious establishments, (Book iii. ch. 4;) the principal part of which, as highly illustrative of our present subject, is here presented to the reader—

"In the year of the Lord's Incarnation, 565, there came," says V. Bede, "into Britain, from Ireland, a Presbyter and Abbot, named Columba, whose life and habit was that of a monk, to preach the Word of God to the Northern Picts, that is, to the dwellers in the rugged and wild Highland mountains, separated from their more southern territories. . . . And by his preaching and example he converted that people to the Christian faith: in consequence of which they bestowed on him the island aforesaid [Iona] that he might have it to build a monastery on. For it is not to say large, but one of about five families, according to the English way of reckoning. And it is to this day [A.D., 781] held in possession by his Successors. He himself too, was buried there, when he had attained to the age of 77 years, about 32 years after his having come to preach in Britain. But before setting out for Britain, he had erected a noble monastery in Ireland, in a place called in the language of the Scots, [i.e., the Irish,] *Dearmach* [or *Dairmagh*, i.e., *Durrow*, in the King's Co.,] which means *Oak-field*, and is so called from the number of oaks growing there.

"From both these monasteries very many others were afterwards propagated by his disciples both in Britain and Ireland, among all which that island monastery, where he himself reposes bodily, enjoys the chief authority. This island has always for its ruler a presbyter Abbot, to whose jurisdiction both the entire province, and the bishops themselves also, contrary to the usual order of things, must own subjection; after the example of that first teacher of theirs, who was no bishop, but a presbyter and monk; relative to whose life and sayings there are reported to be some writings preserved among his disciples. But whatever sort of person he was himself, this we know of him for certain, that he left after him Successors eminent for their strict continence, divine love, and exact discipline; men who follow, indeed, doubtful cycles in their computation of the Great Festival, because that, in that far out of the world abode of theirs, none had ever communicated to them the Synodal Decrees relating to the Paschal Observation, but yet withal, men diligently observing those works of piety and chastity, and those only, which they were able to learn from the writings of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles."

The observations of Dr. Lanigan on the above passage, in his learned Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, (vol. II. pp. 254, '5,) I cannot help regarding as altogether unsatisfactory and erroneous. What his view of the matter was may be seen in the Extracts which follow:—

"But how, it has been said, could bishops have submitted to the jurisdiction of an abbot, who was no more than a presbyter? Did this question concern merely such bishops as lived in monasteries, it could be easily answered, nor would Bede have looked on the system as unusual. There were in his own times, and long before them, several monasteries, the abbots of which held a lower rank, as to holy orders, than some of the persons whom they governed. Many abbots, who were mere laymen, and yet had among their monks some priests, who were bound to observe the rules of the establishment. We frequently meet with bishops, who retired into monasteries, and subjected themselves to their regulations. . . . A practice was introduced of appointing bishops for the accommodation of some great monasteries, to which description of bishops most probably belonged St. Moena, of Clonfert, [who died, A.D., 571]. . . . That those bishops, although chosen out of the body of the monks by the abbot, or the whole community, were treated with particular respect, cannot be questioned. Yet, they may be said to have been in some manner subordinate to the abbot, inasmuch as they ought to act according to his direction, in certain cases, such as *ex. c.* confer ring orders, higher or lower, on those monks whom he thought fit to select and point out to them.

"This is not the system which appeared extraordinary to Bede, but the very different one of an abbot exercising a sort of jurisdiction over bishops, who were neither inmates of his monastery, nor of the class of those bishops, whose functions were confined to monasteries. It seemed to him odd that the prelates who governed the sees and churches of the Northern Picts, should acknowledge a certain degree of supremacy in the abbot of Hy. But if the distinction between the power of order and that of jurisdiction, admitted by all the theologians and canonists, be duly considered, the difficulty can be easily solved. The former power is liable to no modification; nor is there any authority on earth that can add to, or diminish the inherent rights annexed to it, or that can, for instance, empower a priest to exercise validly every function that a bishop can. The case is not so with regard to the power of jurisdiction, which may be extended or curtailed according to circumstance. A person may be consecrated bishop, to all intents and purposes, as to the power of order, without possessing any jurisdiction; and we find instances of it in very remote times, such as that of Barsus and Eulogius, two monks of Edessa, related by Sozoman, (L. 6, c. 34.) *Vice Versa*, a person of the clerical order may, although not actually a bishop, be invested with episcopal jurisdiction. Thus, if he be elected to a see, and regularly confirmed, he becomes prior to his consecration, and while perhaps still only a sub-deacon, possessed of the jurisdiction appertaining to said see, and if it be metropolitanical, the suffragan bishops subject to him, as if he had been actually consecrated. Several other cases might be adduced, if requisite, to show how bishops may become subordinate, in some respect, to clergymen of an inferior order. These cases were not as frequent in Bede's time as afterwards. Lloyd mentions (ch. 7.) that of the Bishop of Oxford, of whom, while in that city, the Chancellor of the University, and even his deputy, take the precedence. It will not now be difficult to understand how the Abbot of Hy, as successor of the Apostle of the Northern Picts, was allowed to retain a certain superintendence over their bishops, who were the successors of those whom Columba had taken care to provide them with."

* See his *Religion of the Ancient Irish* ch. vi. Bingham's *Antt.* B. 7. c. iii. & 22, &c.

All this might seem very plausible, if we could forget that Ven. Bede was an exceedingly learned and accurate writer, and at least as likely as Dr. Lanigan to be acquainted with any church laws or customs, "admitted by all theologians and canonists" which were applicable to his time: nor less likely to avoid in his statements any logical confusion between the *dictum secundum quid*, and the *dictum simpliciter*, than his commentator. So that if the explanation given by the latter could stand at all, no doubt Bede would have been acquainted with it; and to think otherwise would be to suppose him to have spoken very freely of historical facts about which he knew but little; or else to have been very loose and careless in his expressions, as though not considering much the meaning of what he wrote; neither of which habits will be readily attributed to him by those who are acquainted with his writings. We must take, therefore, his words in the above passage, relative to the ecclesiastical order observed at Hy, as intended to bear their natural sense, and no other. And when he says that the bishops, by an unusual arrangement, were subject to a presbyter abbot, knowing as we do, what the usual arrangement was, and what the nature of the subjection to the bishops in which it placed the presbyter, we shall most safely interpret his words by understanding from them, that, *instead of the ordinary control exercised elsewhere over presbyters by bishops, such control over the bishops themselves was, among Columba's followers, vested in the presbyter Abbot of Hy.*

It would have been more to the purpose in support of Dr. Lanigan's views on this matter, had he been able to shew what amount of jurisdiction the ancient Irish bishops possessed before the Synod of Rathbreasail, or that they possessed *any* territorial jurisdiction, or that the presbyters generally were at all subject to them, in any such sense as presbyters now are to their bishops. The fact appears to be, that the peculiar arrangement which attracted Bede's attention at Iona, was nothing more than what was quite usual and common with the Irish; the general position of bishops among them being very much the same as what Dr. Lanigan above sets forth as an exceptional case. They were appointed, it would seem, not merely "for the accommodation of *some great monasteries*," but for those institutions generally, not to be "in some manner," but wholly, "subordinate" to the abbot; and where Dr. Lanigan gives as an example of certain cases in which they were to act according to the abbot's direction, "the conferring of orders on those whom he thought fit to select"—what was this after all, but obliging them to exercise at the discretion of another, that which seems to have been, in Ireland, at least, their only exclusive privilege?

That "the bishops were the bishops of monasteries and of their dependencies, but not of dioceses," before the Synod of Rathbreasail, is the statement of the learned Dr. O'Connor (*Columbanus ad Hibernos*, No. 4.) on this subject; and the negative part of it certainly appears to be most strictly true. The former clause, however, does not seem to be so exactly correct; the bishops not being apparently in all cases confined to monastic foundations, or necessarily connected with them. Nor is it asserted here, that in no instance, during those earlier ages, did any individual bishop enjoy any sort of territorial privileges or influence; for such it is possible that some of them may have been possessed of, through the favor of a particular prince, or of the sept occupying the territory concerned, although not by the sanction of any regular canonical authority, or general custom of the Irish Church. In other countries, too, the Irish readily conformed to the more general system of the Church in this particular, as occasion might require; as for instance, in the case of the Bishopric of Northumberland, which was presided over successively by different Irish prelates. Such peculiar cases do not, however, affect the case of Ireland generally, as regulated in matters ecclesiastical in those times; and this general state is what we are now attempting to describe.

In his Church History of England, V. Bede has found occasion in many places to introduce passages highly illustrative of the manner of life, and mode of propagating their religious system, usual with the early Irish church founders; and of the information so furnished, from its connection with our present subject, it will be of use that we should introduce some portions in this place. A few extracts are accordingly subjoined, connected with two very eminent Irishmen, Saints Aidan and Columban, who were successively sent from the Irish monastic seminary in Icolmkill, to preside over the Northumberland Church. In elucidation of the first extract, it may be premised, that King Oswald, spoken of in it, had, before coming to the throne, lived as an exile among the Irish, and been educated by them, and learned their language; in consequence of which, he afterwards, when King, [A.D., 634] applied to the *Seniors* of the Scots (i.e., of the Irish. *Bede*, ii, 3, 5,) for Christian teachers to instruct his people in the faith, and administer among them the Sacraments of Christ. Aidan having accordingly been sent as Bishop of the Northumbrian realm, the subsequent operations connected with his mission are described by V. Bede in the following manner:—

"One might often witness there a beautiful sight, the priest preaching the Gospel, who had not learned perfectly the language of the English people, and the King himself acting as interpreter of the heavenly Word to his generals and ministers, because during the period of his long exile he had become thoroughly master of the language of the Scots [i.e., the Gaelic, or Irish tongue.] After this, many others began to come every day to Britain out of the Scot's territory, who preached the word of faith, with much devoutness, to those provinces of the English over which King Oswald reigned, admitting them also to the privileges of baptism, at least in such cases as where these teachers were priests. Churches were in consequence built in different places, the people came together in crowds to hear the Word of God, lands and farms were granted of the King's bounty for establishing monasteries, the young children of the English were entrusted to Scottish [i.e. Irish] tutors, to receive from them the rudiments of their education, as well as instruction in more advanced studies, and in the system of regular discipline. For they were mostly monks who had come to preach among them."

Aidan himself undertook the charge of twelve pupils, the children of English parents, to be educated by him in the principles of the Christian faith.—(*Bede*, iii., 3, 26.) Of his own character and exertions to promote religion, the following account is given by the Historian whom we have been quoting:—

"What most recommended his doctrine to all men," says Bede, "was the circumstance, that he taught nothing else than what he himself and his companions were in the habit of practising—for he cared not to seek after, or admire, any of the things of this world. All that was given him by the princes or nobles of this world, it was his delight to distribute presently after among the poor who came in his way. It was his practice to visit every locality, both of city and country, travelling not on horseback, but on his feet, unless he were compelled by some extraordinary necessity to do otherwise. Whenever he came in sight of any, rich or poor, as he went on any of his travels, he would immediately turn from his way to address them, and either invite them to the solemn initiatory rite of the faith, if they were unbelievers, or, in case they were believers, would confirm them in the faith, and stir them up, both by words and actions, to almsdeeds, and other good works. And so much did his life differ from the indolent habits of our days [i.e., of A.D., 730,] that all his followers, whether tonsured or laity, were bound to employ themselves in meditation—that is, to pay attention to reading the Scriptures or learning the Psalms. This was his daily work, and that of all the brethren that were with him, whithersoever they came. And if by chance he were ever invited to an entertainment with the king (which, however, occurred but seldom) he would come accompanied by a single clergyman or two, and after having partaken of a slight refreshment, hasten away speedily to reading, or prayer with his brethren. After whose example the religious people of those days, men and women, made it a practice, all the year round, save during the fifty days next after Easter, to continue their fast on Wednesdays and Fridays until the ninth hour of the day. He never spared rich people from respect for them, or through fear, but would rebuke them sharply when guilty of any misdemeanors. He never gave money to the powerful men of the world, but only meat, if he happened to entertain them; but used rather to spend, as we have said, for the benefit of the poor, or else on the redeeming of persons unjustly sold for slaves, any gifts of money which were bestowed on him by the wealthy. Moreover, of those whose ransoms he so paid, he afterwards adopted many for his disciples, and advanced them, when sufficiently taught and instructed, to the order of priesthood."

To occupy ourselves, however, with all the subsequent matter in Bede's History, which he has introduced in commendation of Aidan and his followers, would lead us entirely away from our proper study at present. We pass on then to adduce

one or two passages of a similar character from what he has written in connection with the history of St. Colman, above mentioned. This is not, of course, the place to give any description of that long continued and violent quarrel between the ancient Irish and the Church of Rome, in the course of which the latter succeeded in effecting the expulsion of St. Colman, followed, not only by his Irish, but by some also of his English, adherents, from his bishopric among the Northumbrians; an account of which may be had in works of a more general character on the Church History of Ireland. More to the purpose of our present enquiry is the statement given by Bede, in connection with his departure, concerning the character and manner of life of St. Colman himself, and the other Irish missionary bishops who had laboured before him in the Northumbrian realm. The account of them set forth in the place referred to, (Bede, H. E. iii. 26.) is to this effect:—

“How great was his frugality and continence, and that of his predecessors, might be judged,” says the historian, “even from the place over which he ruled, where, after their departure, very few houses were to be found besides the church, that is to say, such only as were absolutely necessary for carrying on the intercourse of civilised life. They had no money except their cattle. For if they ever received any money from the rich, they used to give it away presently to the poor. For they had no occasion for collecting money, or providing houses, to entertain the great ones of this world, who used never come to their church for any other purpose, but only for prayer and hearing the Word of God. The king himself, when he had occasion to be present, used to come accompanied by only five or six attendants, and would retire as soon as prayer was over in the church. And if it should so happen that they would take any refreshment there, they contented themselves with nothing beyond the simple and daily food of the brethren, and sought nothing more. For at that time the whole anxiety of those teachers was to serve God, and not the world: their whole concern was occupied in cultivating the heart, and not the stomach. For which reason also the habit of religion was much respected in those days, so that wherever any clergyman or monk would come, he was received with a cordial welcome by all, as a servant of God; and if he were to be found travelling on a journey, they would come running to him and be quite happy to be laid hands on by him, or to receive a blessing from his lips: they used also to give diligent heed to the words of exhortation uttered by these teachers, and would, on the Lord's days, eagerly flock together to the monasteries, not with a view to refreshing their bodies, but desirous to be instructed in the Word of God. And if any of the priests happened to come into a village, the townspeople there would congregate together, and be sure to ask him to administer to them the Word of life. For those priests, or clergymen, had no other object in visiting the towns, than to preach, baptise, visit the sick, or in short, to attend to the cure of souls; being so far free from all taint of avarice, that they would not even receive territories and possessions for building monasteries, unless when forced to it by the secular powers. Which system, in all respects, was continued in the churches of the Northumbrians for some time after the period of which we now speak.”

The history of St. Colman, after the period when the Church of Rome succeeded in effecting the expulsion of him and the rest of the Irish who refused conformity to her practices, from England, is equally illustrative of the subject which occupies us—it is narrated by V. Bede in the following manner (E. H. iv. 4);—

“When departing from Britain, he took with him all the Scottish, [i.e. Irish] monks that he had gathered in the island of Lindisfarne, and also about thirty persons of the English nation, who likewise had been educated in the system of monastic life: and having left some brethren in his own church, he first betook himself to the island of Hy, from which he had been sent to preach the Word of God to the English nation; and afterwards retired to a certain small and far remote island, off the western coast of Ireland, which is named in the Scottish [i.e. Irish] tongue, *Innishbofin*, i.e., the *White Cow's Isle*. On arriving here, he built a monastery, and settled in it the monks, collected from the two nations, whom he had brought with him. Who not being able to agree together, because the Scots [i.e. the Irish] used in the summer time, when the corn was to be gathered in, leave the monastery, and go dispersing themselves in a wandering way through the places with which they were familiar, and would return when winter was coming on, and want to be allowed to share in common what the Englishmen had stored up in the meantime. Colman, therefore, set himself to seek out some remedy for this dissension: and so, making a tour through all places far and near, he found in the island of Ireland a place suited for the site of a monastery, which in the language of the Scots [or Irish] is called *Magio*, [i.e. *Mayo*, in the county of that name.] And of this he bought, from the Earl to whose property it belonged, a portion of no great extent; this being one of the conditions of the agreement, that the monks to be resident there should offer prayers to the Lord for him who was accommodating them with the ground. And having speedily reared his monastery, with the help of the Earl and all the neighbours, he settled the Englishmen in it, leaving the Scots [i.e. the Irish] in the island abovenamed. And this monastery is still [A.D., 731] occupied by Englishmen.”

From this curious passage it would seem that the discipline observed in the ancient Irish monastic establishments, was far from being so strict as is commonly thought, seeing that a number of men could leave a place of the kind for summer excursions among their friends, and arrange to return to it again in the winter; and this, under the rule of one whose influence must have been singularly great. For Colman was not only an abbot, but a bishop also, and as to his personal character, one of the utmost energy, as is evident from all his history, one also who was greatly respected and loved by those over whom he ruled, as appears plainly from the number of them that were willing to forsake their homes in England, under his teaching, and to become the partners of his banishment.

Our sketches, from Bede, of these ancient Irish teachers, would be incomplete without one more, from the history of another very eminent individual of the same age, or rather a little junior to the one last spoken of. Colman, we see, when removing from his episcopal residence at Lindisfarne, had left behind him in the place, “some brethren.” He had, moreover, although expelled himself from Northumberland, sufficient influence with Oswy, prince of that country, to obtain that the appointment of head over those brethren who remained, should be given to Eata, one of the twelve pupils of St. Aidan already mentioned; and among those who received instruction under this Eata, none attained to so much celebrity as the famous St. Cuthbert, who afterwards also became bishop in the same place. He is supposed to have been an Irishman, and born at Kilmacud, near Stillorgan, in the county Dublin, the church of which is named after him; and his death is recorded at A.D. 686, by the *Four Masters*, who also style him bishop of Farne, a small island within 9 miles of Lindisfarne, where he resided for some years. Another office which Cuthbert held, was that of provost, or prior, of Melrose Abbey on the Tweed, his labours in which capacity are described by V. Bede in the passage which next follows—(Bede, E.H., iv., 27. See also the 4 M., A.D., 686, and Note there.)

“After he [Boisil] had departed to the Lord, Cuthbert having been set over the same monastery, instructed many in regular life, both by his authority as master, and by the example of his own behaviour. Nor was it to the monastery alone that he furnished both the precepts and the pattern of a regular life, but it was also an object of his concern to reclaim the peasantry about there, far and wide, from the course of their vain conversation, to a love for heavenly joys. For there were many of them who profaned by wicked actions the faith which they had received, while some, during the great mortality [i.e., A.D., 664] went so far as to disregard the sacraments of the faith wherein they had been instructed, and to have recourse to the false charms of idolatry, as if they could check the influence of a plague sent from God their Creator, by incantations or phylacteries, or the spells of any sort of diabolic act. To reform therefore both these classes of persons from their evil courses, he would frequently leave the monastery, sometimes riding, but more commonly going on foot, and come to the circumjacent villages, and preach the way of truth to their erring inhabitants, as Boisil also when alive had been wont to do. For it was usual, at that time, for the English people of any place, when a clergyman or presbyter came into their village, to assemble all together at his bidding, to hear the Word, give their ready attention to what was spoken to them, and still more readily to put in practice what they were able to hear and understand. Moreover, Cuthbert had such an ability for speaking, such an affectionate earnestness in pressing home the truths which he inculcated, such a beaming light in his angelic aspect, that none of those who heard him would venture to conceal from him the secrets of their hearts, but all would openly make confession of the practices in which they had been concerned, (feeling a conviction that the same could not possibly be unknown to him,) and would wipe out the misdeeds they confessed, by such worthy fruits of repentance as he enjoined on them.* He was accustomed, moreover, to visit those places in particular, and preach in those villages especially, which lay so far away in the high and rugged mountains, as to make others dread to visit them, and hinder any teachers from coming to them, in consequence of the poverty and wildness for which they were

* The meaning here appears to be, that the sincerity of their penitence was manifested in the fruit of such exemplary after-conduct, as was marked by no reappearance of the sins of idolatry, &c., which they had confessed themselves to have been guilty of. (See Danl. iv. 27.)

distinguished. And he, nevertheless, making himself a willing slave in the pious toil, used to attend to those places with such an industrious plan of careful instruction, that after leaving the monastery, he would frequently not return for a whole week, sometimes not for two or three, occasionally not even for a full month, but staying away in those mountain parts, would invite the country people, at once by the word of his preaching, and by his virtuous example, to the pursuit of heavenly things.

"When, therefore, this venerable servant of the Lord had spent many years in the monastery of Melrose, and had become conspicuous there for great and mighty deeds, his abbot, the most reverend Eata, removed him to the isle of Lindisfarne, that he might there also inculcate on the brethren with the authority of their superior, and enforce by his own example, the observance of regular discipline. For the latter place also the said most reverend father governed with abbatial jurisdiction; seeing that of old it was usual for the bishop to reside in that place with his clergy, as well as the abbot with his monks; the latter of whom, at the same time, belonged in a familiar way, to the care of the bishop [*ad Episcopum curam familiariter pertinerent*]; because Aidan, who was the first bishop of the place, being himself a monk, brought monks thither with him, and established there the monastic life."

Bede immediately goes on to say, that this was just what the monk Augustine also had done in Kent, by direction of Pope Gregory, and with a design to follow the example of those primitive disciples, who had all things common. But the agreement which he notices appears to have been accidental, and peculiar to the bishopric of Lindisfarne; while, in general, the spirit and practice of the Saxon Church differed strikingly from that of the Irish people in the particular in question. For the Anglo-Saxon Church was strictly episcopal in its government; and although in the diocesan successions among them (which were carefully maintained,) some prelates might be monks or abbots, it was by no means considered essential that all should be such. Among the Irish, on the other hand, the principal church dignitaries, whose *local* successions were most carefully maintained, were the abbots, (so that their discipline might better be called abbatial, than episcopal,) and of these abbots, although some in each succession might be bishops, it was deemed as little necessary that all should be such, as that all the bishops in the former instance (i.e., among the Saxons,) should be abbots. Care was taken to have Aidan and his successors at Lindisfarne invested with the episcopal character, through a desire, most probably, to consult the feelings of those among whom they were sent to labor, and to whose taste the regular episcopal mode of government was in all probability most congenial. For, as far as their own views were concerned, it was unlikely that the disciples of the great missionary and Apostle St. Columbkille, himself but a presbyter, should think it of importance in sending out a missionary, under ordinary circumstances, that he should first be made a bishop. Nor does the history of the Irish Church generally, or of its missions elsewhere, increase the probability of their having entertained any such opinion.

It would seem to be on account of Lindisfarne having been known to Bede's readers chiefly as an episcopal See, that he thinks it necessary to give in the last paragraph above cited an explanation of the circumstance of a mere presbyter abbot, such as Eata was, having any ecclesiastical jurisdiction over it, or power to appoint a vice-abbot or prior, to the charge of the establishment there. This appointment, however, of one who was only a priest, and made (as it was,) by another of like order, was such as would seem to have been regarded as abundantly sufficient, according to the Irish usage, for keeping up the local succession at Lindisfarne. When Bede says that the monks there belonged in a familiar way (*familiariter*) to the care of the bishop, it seems to mean, that they associated with him as members of a family, and that whatever episcopal services they might have need of, he performed for them, without exercising of necessity any authority over them; i.e., when he was not himself abbot, as Aidan had been, as well as bishop. For that bishops, when resident in monasteries, were subject to the abbots of them, is sufficiently certain, as Dr. Lanigan admits in what we have already quoted from his history at p. 3 sup. Lastly, from the passage of Bede now before us, it may be observed, that abbot Eata, whom he mentions in it, was a pluralist, in governing, as abbot, the two establishments at Melrose and Lindisfarne; a kind of pluralism not uncommon in the early ecclesiastical arrangements of the Irish people.

The sketches which we have been giving of the lives and manners of these early Irish ecclesiastics, are from the pen of an English Historian, and relate to cases of clergymen who laboured in England. But although it might seem in some respects more proper for our present purpose, to have selected such illustrations from the more general case of their countrymen resident at home, yet on the whole, those from Bede are the most convenient for adducing here, as no Irish writer of equal eminence has furnished us with similar narratives, relative to what was going on in this island, at that time: and it was but natural that the national characteristics which arrested Bede's attention, though but a specimen of what was observable more widely and generally in Ireland, should strike a stranger more than those who were more familiar with the scenes of such labors every day. And after all, in descriptions comprising so much of commendation, the testimony of one of a different nation may well be regarded as the most trustworthy.

In all that precedes, it may be seen to be implied, that while the abbatial office was that which engrossed in those early ages of the Irish Church, of which we now speak, the chief power and influence in ecclesiastical affairs, and while the bishops, generally speaking, (although they might in particular cases, and from accidental circumstances, be possessed of a kind of territorial authority over certain tracts of country, yet,) had no diocesan jurisdiction capable of transmission to a line of successors who might preside over the same charge, still the episcopal office, as a distinct one, and possessed of peculiar powers of its own, is fully recognised in the records from which our information on these points is drawn. If, in connection with this, it be asked, 'What then can be mentioned in the way of peculiar prerogative, acknowledged by these ancient Irishmen to belong to the episcopal order exclusively?' we answer, *the power of ordination*, at least; not the slightest mention of any other than episcopal ordinations occurring in any of the old records of the Irish Church which remain to us, while of such ordinations a sufficient number of instances are to be met with in them. Nor was any peculiarity, or difference, in this respect, from the general practice of the Church elsewhere, noticed, or censured, as existing among the Irish, when the other irregularities in their discipline, (a part of which we have been endeavouring to explain,) attracted the attention, and elicited the condemnation, of different writers of the Twelfth Century, in other countries belonging to the communion of the Church of Rome.

Further, it is to be observed, that although denied the exercise of that authority which was elsewhere associated with their office, yet these early Irish bishops were treated with much respect and veneration. Their dignity was regarded as one proper to be conferred (as a kind of honorary degree, so far,) on persons of eminence for piety, and other gifts, and on such only. And it accordingly appears to have been commonly bestowed on the clergyman of some particular place, not so much from any idea that that place required a bishop, or with any intention to keep up in it an episcopal succession, but rather, because that particular clergyman had exhibited a character worthy of the office. And even if there happened to be, at the time, a bishop already resident in the same locality, or very near to it, this appears to have been no more considered a difficulty in the way of the exaltation of the second individual, to the rank to which his character appeared to entitle him, than it would now form a difficulty in the way of a man's obtaining the degree of Doctor of Divinity, or any other such title of honor, that his neighbour in the next house or parish enjoyed already the same distinction.

The views which we have now put forward concerning the church government of Ireland for the six centuries following the death of St. Patrick, will probably appear novel and singular to those who have not much studied the subject; and it must be admitted that they are rather at variance with some of the general notions countenanced and propagated in time past even by our most learned Irish authorities, such as Colgan, Lanigan, and especially Ware and Harris. Of the confusion introduced into some parts of the writings of Ware, &c., by such notions, we shall have to speak hereafter. Lanigan is ge-

nerally more cautious and exact in his statements on the subject, and some of them, in particular, go far towards admitting the real position of the case, as deducible with sufficient certainty from historic evidences. With regard, for instance, to the point last noticed above, he acknowledges in different parts of his history, the existence of 'the singular practice in Ireland of raising persons to the episcopacy, here and there, without confining such promotions to old established sees, or places where there had been bishops in former days' (iii. 235.) But the views now put forth are not unsupported by the writings of some of the most well-informed persons, about such matters, who have had occasion to touch on them in recent days. They are, on the contrary, borne out and corroborated by much that is to be found in those two very able and valuable works, the *Ordnance Memoir of Londonderry*, and the Rev. Dr. Reeves's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*.

From the account of the origin and history of the See of Derry given in the former of these authorities (pp. 20 seqq.) are taken the passages bearing on this subject, which here follow:—

"That there were any fixed episcopal sees, or uninterrupted successions of bishops in Ireland, previously to about the year 1118—when, at the council of Rath-Breasail, by the influence of the papal power, the island was regularly partitioned into dioceses, and their boundaries fixed—may be, perhaps, doubted—*though something approaching to a regular succession is supposed to be found in the Successors of St. Patrick, at Armagh*, and the general fact of the existence of more ancient fixed bishoprics has not been hitherto questioned. This, however, is not the proper place for entering on the evidences of a question of so much importance and magnitude. It is enough for the present to state that the greater part, if not the whole, of the Church property in the modern county of Derry, appears from the charter, and the several Inquisitions relative to Church property, first taken by the English in the county, to have been anciently of the nature of *termon* or *erenach* lands, enjoyed by the several septs in course of *gavelkind*, without being subject to any episcopal jurisdiction, or control. Thus, in the Inquisition taken in the city of Londonderry, on the 1st of September, 1609, the jurors find that 'touchinge the severall names of *herenagh*, *termon* and *corbe*, the said jurors doe upon their oathes finde and present that all *termon* and *herenagh* land within the said countie was att the first given by Collumkill and the succeeding abbotts unto the severall septs before any busshops were knowne to be in this countrie; and that the said land was free and had the priviledges of sanctuarie and other liberties, and was enjoyed by the sept in course of *gavel kynde*. This is further corroborated by the Inquisition taken at Limavaddy, on the 30th of August, in the same year, by a jury composed of fifteen gentlemen of the principal septs of the country, viz.,—and further, touchinge the originall and difference of *corbes* and *herenaghes*, and of the *termon* lands of the said countie of Colrane, the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, finde and say, that Donnell McHugh O'Neale, kinge of Ireland [in 635,] did, longe before any busshoppes were made in the said kingdome of Ireland, give unto *certaine holy men*, whom they call *Sancti Patres*, severall portions of land and a third parte of all the tiethes, to thend [the end] they should say praieris and beare a third parte of the chardge of repaireinge and mainteyning the parishe church, thother twoe third parts beinge borne by the parson and viccar to whom the rest of the tiethes is yerely paied, and alsoe for their owne honor and sustentation; and that afterwards the said holy men did give unto severall septs severall proportions of the said lands, and placed one or more of them in everie parishe, and withall gave unto him a third parte of the tiethes of that parishe, to hould both the said lande and the third parte of the tiethes for ever, accordinge to the course of tanistrie, free from all exactions, and that for that cause the land was called *termon* or free, and the tennant thereof some tymes called *corbe* and some tymes *herenagh*, and that the said *corbe* or *herenagh* was to beare a third parte of the chardge in repaireinge and maynteyninge the parish church, and that the said portion of land and the thirde parte of the tiethes soe contynued free unto the *corbe* or *herenagh*, for many yerres, untill the Church of Rome established busshoppes in this kingdome, and decreed that everie *corbe* or *herenagh* should give unto the busshopp (within whose dioces he lived) a yearly pension, more or less, accordinge to his proportion out of his entire *erenachie*, consistinge of the said land and the said third parte of the tiethes, and that thereunto the said *corbes* and *herenaghes* submitted themselves, but held their *herenaghie* free for ever, and could not be removed by any of the temporall or spirituall lords, oy [or] other person whatsoever.

"As these Inquisitions, then," continues the *Ordnance Memoir*, "clearly refer to a period anterior to the existence of any fixed episcopal jurisdiction in this country, as well as to the subsequent time in which the bishopric was established, and its revenues settled and defined, there is solid ground for the conclusion—that this important innovation was an immediate result of the decree of the Rathbreasail council, above spoken of. . . . over which, in corroboration of the Inquisitions, it may be well to state that Giolla Easpuic, or Gillebert, the first papal legate sent to Ireland, presided."

Then follows in the *Memoir* an account of the boundaries assigned, in the Synod of Rathbreasail, to the dioceses of "Raphoe, or Derry," as it is improperly called in the Record of the Synod, Ardstraw or Tyrone, and Connor, within the limits of which three dioceses the modern one of Derry is comprised. This description, as irrelevant to our present purpose, we may here omit, and pass on to the circumstances connected with the appointment of the first bishop, as commonly reckoned, of the regular succession in Derry; only remarking first, that the Synod of Rathbreasail, which is assigned in the *Ordnance Memoir* to A.D., 1118, is (more correctly, as I suppose,) said to have been held in A.D., 1110, in the most perfect and beautiful copy of *Keating's History* which I have met with, viz., one in the possession of Dr. Todd, the work of that exquisite scribe and Irish scholar, Mr. E. Curry.

"The subsequent establishment of a distinct episcopal see at Derry, as now constituted, is supposed by *all* the modern ecclesiastical historians of Ireland to have taken place in 1158, when Flahertach O'Brolchain [i.e. Flaherty Brallaghan, R.K.] the then abbot of the monastery, was undoubtedly raised to the episcopal dignity by a decree of the council held at Brigh-mac-Taidhg, in the north of Meath. The circumstances connected with this event are thus related by the Four Masters:—

"An assembly was held by the Irish clergy at Brigh-mac-Taidhg, in the territory of Hy-Laoghaire, at which were present twenty-five bishops, together with the apostolic legate, for the purpose of establishing ecclesiastical discipline, and the improvement of morals. In this assembly the clergy of Ireland, and the *Coarb* of St. Patrick [Archbishop of Armagh, *Ord. Mem.*] decreed by common consent that a bishop's chair [*cathaoir easpoicic*] and the supreme superintendence of all the abbays in Ireland [that is—of the Columbian order, O.M.] should be given to the *Coarb* of St. Columbkille, Flahertach O'Brolchain. The Bishops of Connaught set out on their way to this synod, but they were robbed and beaten, and two of their people killed, by the soldiers of Dermot O'Melaghlin, King of Meath, at the wooden bridge at Clonmacnoise, after they had passed through the town: they then returned home."

"The promotion of O'Brolchain to the episcopal dignity was the result of the friendship of the celebrated primate, Gelasius, or Gilla-mac-Liag, who was distinguished not less for abilities and virtues than for the zealous assistance which he rendered in establishing the discipline and influence of the Church of Rome in Ireland. Gelasius was himself of a Derry Sept, as it appears that he had been *coarb*, or *erenach*, of the monastery of Derry, previously to his promotion to the archiepiscopal chair of Armagh." These facts are ascertained from the Life of Gelasius, as quoted by Colgan. [Then follows a quotation from Colgan's Life of Gelasius, after which the *Ordnance Memoir* proceeds thus:]

"But, though the authorities now cited leave no doubt of the fact of O'Brolchain having been raised to 'the episcopal dignity,' they are far from being so conclusive as is generally supposed in respect to the establishment of a new See at Derry; and there is much, if not satisfactory evidence, to shew that this event did not take place for a century later. In the first place, it is no where stated (as it most probably would, if it had been the fact,) that a *bishopric*, with its limits or boundaries defined, was fixed here at this period; and if the elevation of the abbot be held sufficient to imply the establishment of a bishopric, there would be equal reason to conclude that there had been one two centuries earlier, as several of O'Brolchain's predecessors in the abbacy had been of the episcopal order. Next, it is certain that O'Brolchain did not resign his abbacy on his promotion, but retained it till his death. And lastly, no successors of that abbot in the bishopric can be found for an entire century—his supposed successors being, as will be proved in the notices of the prelates, not properly bishops of Derry, but of Tyrone."

The case of this O'Brolchain, or Brallaghan, furnishes us with an illustration of the practice above mentioned, of raising persons to the episcopacy in Ireland, not with a view to their having the charge of a diocese, but as an honor of which they were personally thought worthy. This is expressed in the obit of Bishop Brallaghan (whose name is now commonly anglicised Bradley, in Derry,) as given by the 4 M., thus at A.D., 1175:—

"Flahertach O'Brolchain, *Coarb* of Columbkille, tower of wisdom and hospitality, to whom, for his wisdom and great virtues, the clergy of Ireland had given a bishop's chair, [see,] and offered the superintendence of the monastery of Iona, after having borne the pains of a long infirmity with patience, died most piously in the monastery of Derry."

The whole case of the alterations in progress in the state of religious affairs at Derry at that time, appears to have been

only a type of similar changes going on generally in the Irish Church of the same age. It is not, I think, unlikely, that in procuring the elevation of O'Brolchain to the episcopal rank, his friend Primate Gelasius, who appears to have been so zealous a promoter of the new discipline then recently introduced by the legate Gille into Ireland, may have been actuated partly by a desire to abolish one remarkable instance of those earlier Irish ecclesiastical practices, which were then beginning to be considered so great a scandal. For such it surely was, that the Church dignitary who, as *coarb*, or *successor*, of Columbkille, occupied in the Irish Church a place second only to the Primate himself, in consequence and popular esteem, should be but a simple priest, continuing in his person, and sanctioning by his example, that anomalous kind of succession, which had in all parts of Ireland been the means of depriving bishops, before the twelfth century, of what were admitted in all other places to be but their just and natural prerogatives. But if any such intention as that here hinted at was entertained in making O'Brolchain a bishop, it seems, from what is above stated, (from the *Ordinance Memoir*,) to have certainly failed; as he did not become the founder of any such succession as that contemplated in it; nor did such succession commence until a hundred years after this time;—although the succession of *abbots* of Derry was maintained as previously, and continued to be maintained after the regular succession of bishops had commenced in that See. The latter began with Fogarty, (or Florence) O'Cairreal-lain, who died in July, 1293.

In the preceding pages we have been making use, in our inquiry, of the matter connected with it, to be found in the *Ordinance Memoir* of Londonderry. To this valuable work we shall again have occasion to recur in a subsequent page, for some further light on the subject of the early Church dignitaries and holders of Church property in Ireland. But meanwhile it will be of use to direct our attention to the other work mentioned above as containing much important and correct information relative to the same subject, i.e., the Rev. Dr. Reeves's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*. From that learned volume is taken, in a somewhat abridged form, the matter now immediately to follow in this Memoir, as will be found by the references to its pages which are annexed. But considering that the class of readers for whom the present Essay is intended, is very different from that which is most likely to use and value the *Antiquities* itself, we shall not consider it necessary to insert here, any of the original authorities for statements, in full, or the references to them, in general, which are given by Dr. Reeves, but leave it to the careful student to consult the *Antiquities* for such points. Neither shall we refrain from incorporating the notes of the *Antiquities* with its text, or from altering the words, although not the sense, where convenient for our purpose of abridging, excepting where inverted commas are used, in which case, of course, no alterations of words are included.

"A moderate acquaintance with the ancient ecclesiastical records of the island is sufficient to impress the mind with the conviction that episcopal ordination was very frequent in the primitive church of Ireland, and that in raising ministers to the office of bishop, respect was rather had to their qualifications in piety, learning, and zeal, than to the claims of the district over which they were placed: it being more the object to secure to the Church the perpetuity of orders, than to parcel it out into accurately defined dioceses. Hence when Nennius, writing in the Ninth Century, sums up the labours of St. Patrick, by ascribing to him the foundation of 365 churches, the consecration of above 365 bishops, and the ordination of 3,000 presbyters, he must, after making all due deductions on account of the exaggerating spirit of the age, be understood as recording a prevalent impression that bishops were very numerous in Ireland during the life time of her apostle, and that the numerical proportion which they bore to the presbyters was much greater than in after times. This large proportion runs through all the old Irish compositions. Thus it is stated by Keating, out of the Red Book of Mac Egan, that Aongus, King of Munster, in St. Patrick's time, had two bishops and ten priests in his household."

Similarly, of St. Mochta, of Louth, who died in 534, we read in the old Irish gloss connected with his name in the Martyrology attributed to Aengus the Culdee, the following curious particulars, delivered in the original in a poetic form:—

Poverty abode not
With Mochta at Louth in his fort:
CCC. priests, and C. bishops,
Were along with him.
Eighty psalm-singing noble youths
Were his household; great enumeration!
Without ploughing, without reaping, without drying,
Without other occupation, save learning.*

"The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, which was probably written in the ninth or tenth century, increases the number of bishops ordained by St. Patrick, to 370; of priests to 5,000; and of sacred edifices, founded by him, to 700. On the estimate given by Nennius, Dr. H. Maurice, the learned Author of the 'Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy,' places but little dependence: yet he observes, 'supposing these holy bishops had been all of Ireland; yet there is no need of so many Cathedrals for them; for they lasted four Reigns which make up a hundred years. And though all the Bishop's seats in Ireland had not been above fifty, they might easily have afforded 350 Saints in the compass of a hundred years.' Bishop Lloyd suggests: 'Perhaps the meaning might be, that beside those thirty bishops which Patrick ordained for the Bishops' Sees, he also ordained as many suffragans as there were Rural Deanries, in each of which there were eight or nine Parish Priests, taking one Deanry with another.' With this sentiment agrees the view taken by Keating [the famous Irish historian] who, having quoted St. Bernard's statement concerning the multiplication of bishops in Ireland, proceeds to say, 'From these words of St. Bernard it is to be inferred that the number of bishops we have mentioned, in Ireland, in the time of St. Patrick, is not to be wondered at, the church being in a flourishing condition at that time. The number of bishops we have above stated is less to be wondered at, as it is read in ancient books that there was a bishop for every deanry in Ireland.'" (Reeves, pp. 123, 124.)

Such a statement Keating may no doubt have read in ancient books; but if so, it would prove them, I think, to be no more ancient than the Synod of Rathbreasail; before which there were neither Deans nor Deanries, Cathedrals nor Dioceses, to be found in this island. And as for Dr. Maurice's notion of fifty Sees, or the thirty with which Bp. Lloyd is content, as having had existence in the time of St. Patrick, little authority for either of those numbers can be found in the old Irish Annals. Keating himself quotes on this subject an ancient Irish stanza, which reduces to a comparatively low figure the number of prelates and others ordained by St. Patrick. Of this stanza, which is given by Dr. Reeves also, and of which the antiquity seems attested, as well by the smallness of the numbers occurring in it, as by the general simplicity of its style, the translation is as follows:—

"Fifty and five learned bishops
The holy man ordained,
And three hundred approved praying men,
On whom he conferred orders."

But the most ancient and valuable authority on the subject of the multiplicity of bishops in Ireland in those early times, is, according to Dr. Reeves, the *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland*, which Archbishop Ussher first published, as he found it in two manuscript copies. It commences thus:—

"The first order of Catholic Saints was in the time of Patrick. And in those days were they all bishops, eminent and holy, and full of the Holy Ghost, to the number of CCCL., who were founders of churches. They had one head, Christ, and one leader, Patrick: one mass, one form of celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear, did they make use of—one Easter, &c.... This order of saints lasted during four reigns, i.e.,

* See Dr. Todd's Introduction to *Obits of Christ Church, Dublin*, the passage of which above given is referred to, but not quoted, in Dr. Reeves's work.

throughout the days of Laoghaire, and Olioll Molt, and Lughaidh, son of Laoghaire, and Tuathal—[i.e. from A.D. 494 to 544.] All these bishops had their origin from the Romans, and Franks, and Britons and, Scots," [i.e. the people of Ireland.]

This document Dr. Reeves gives in its original Latin form, and presently after continues his observations on the subject in the following terms:—

"The great frequency of bishops in the system of Church government introduced by St. Patrick, is attributable to various causes. Christianity made rapid progress in Ireland under the labours of that missionary, and it is well remarked by Dr. Lanigan, 'that although Christianity was not propagated in Ireland by the blood of martyrs, there is no instance of any other nation that universally received it in as short a space of time as the Irish did. This sudden accession of great numbers to Christianity, and the prospect of their increase, would naturally suggest the advantage of supplying abundant means to answer the demands which were likely to be made upon the ministry. Further.....it was, as Bingham observes, the distinguishing feature between countries early converted, and those at a later period, that the dioceses of the former were much more numerous and circumscribed. Thus, in Asia, which extended 630 miles in breadth, and 210 in length, there were 400 dioceses; while in Germany, which was of greater extent, there were but 40 bishoprics, because Christianised at a much later period. In Poland there were only 30, and in Russia but 21.....In Ireland, until comparatively recent times, there have been some independent bishoprics so small that were the whole island distributed into sees of similar extent, their number would approach to that which prevailed in early ages. The diocese of Kilmacduagh, which had a distinct bishop in 1523, contains an area of no more than 130,000 statute acres. Kilfenora, which was governed by a bishop of its own until 1612, contains but 136,000 statute acres. The diocese of Waterford, which is only 13 miles by 9, was founded in 1096, for the sake of the town of Waterford, and was governed by its own bishop till 1362. If Kilmacduagh, then, were taken as the standard of extent, Ireland would be divisible into 180 dioceses; or if Kilfenora, into 147 such; or if Waterford, into 250 such." (Reeves pp. 125—127.)

Here it is intimated that a regular succession of bishops commenced in Waterford so early as in 1096. It is admitted, further, that such a succession commenced in Dublin in 1038, and accordingly, several years, in each of these instances, before the Synod of Rathbreasail, held in 1110. But these were properly no Irish Sees, but mere *Episcopal Stations of colonists from other countries*, who had settled in Ireland, and held possession of Limerick also, the see of the Legate Gille, as well as of those two others just mentioned. And so far were they from being fully identified with the Irish Church, that the people belonging to them would not consent to have their bishops consecrated by any of those of Ireland, but on the contrary, excited the indignation of the latter by sending their prelates elect to receive consecration from the Norman Archbishops of Canterbury, whose countrymen they claimed to be. "Know you for verity, that the bishops of Ireland entertain towards us the very greatest jealousy, and especially that bishop who hath his residence in Armagh, for our unwillingness to submit to their ordination, and the preference we manifest for continuing subject to your authority."—Such is the language of the citizens of Dublin, in the letter commendatory, sent in A.D., 1122, with Gregory, their bishop elect, to Ralph, the English Primate. In connection with these circumstances, and the ecclesiastical position of those foreign settlers in the three towns aforesaid, Archbishop Ussher observes, that "forasmuch as they were confined within the walls of their own cities, the bishops which they made had no other diocese to exercise their jurisdiction in, but only the bare circuit of those cities, whereupon we find a certificate made unto Pope Innocent III., in the year 1216, by the Archbishop of Tuam and his suffragans, that John Papiro, the legate of the Church of Rome, coming into Ireland, [A.D., 1151,] found that Dublin had indeed a bishop, but such an one did exercise his episcopal office within the walls only."—(*Religion of the Ancient Irish*, ch. viii.)

Another anomalous practice common in the primitive Church of Ireland, besides those already mentioned, and one which is noticed by many ancient writers, was that of having the consecration of the bishops performed by a single bishop, instead of by three, as was enjoined in the ancient ecclesiastical canons, according to which was regulated, in this particular, the usage of the Church elsewhere. A remarkable instance in proof of this peculiarity of the Irish is to be found in the curious and well-known Legend relative to the ordination of Columkille, by Etchein, Bishop of Clonfad, (in the County of Westmeath); which may be seen in full in Dr. Todd's Introduction to the *Book of Obits*, p. liv. According to the Legend, Columkille went to Etchein, "to have the order of bishop conferred on him;" and having first satisfied himself that Etchein was a proper person to perform the service, he "told the business on which he came. 'It shall be done,' said the cleric. He then conferred the order of a priest on Columkille, albeit it was the order of a bishop he wished to have conferred upon him." However so strange a mistake could have occurred, Columkille resolved on remaining always a priest, and adhered to the resolution. In illustration of the life led by an Irish bishop in those days, we should not omit to mention, in passing, that Columkille, according to the Legend aforesaid, arriving in Clonfad, and enquiring for Bishop Etchein, was shewn him *ploughing in an adjoining field*. The comments of Dr. Lanigan on this odd narrative are to the following effect:—

"In this anecdote it is pre-supposed—1st, that it was intended to consecrate Columba *per saltum*, that is, to raise him immediately from the rank of deacon—[*layman*? R.K.] to the episcopacy, without his passing through the priesthood. There are certainly many instances of the kind in ancient times, notwithstanding the contrary practice having been generally observed from a very early period, as appears from St. Cyprian (*Ep. 52. alias 55. ad Antonian.*) and confirmed by the councils of Sardica, Bracara, and others. 2ndly.—Although it was an universal and very ancient rule that several bishops, at least three, as established by the great council of Nice, should be present at the consecration or ordination of a bishop, yet here we find an instance of a person, who was to be consecrated by one alone, and without any apparent necessity of such an urgent nature, as would at any time render it allowable. Whether the anecdote be true or not, it seems to indicate that it was not unusual in Ireland to have persons consecrated by one bishop. And yet it is certain that the Irish Clergy were well acquainted with the decrees of the Council of Nice and others on this subject. To explain this seeming paradox we must observe, that the order of *Chorepiscopi* was very general in Ireland. They were undoubtedly, at least very many of them, invested with episcopal powers; although being subordinate to the regular bishop, in whose diocese they were stationed, they were not allowed to exercise some parts of them without his permission. Now these *Chorepiscopi* used to be ordained or consecrated by the bishop, properly so called, or ordinary of the diocese, without his being bound to apply for the assistance of other bishops. See the 10th canon of the Council of Antioch, and Bingham, (*Orig. Eccl. Book 2, chap. xiv. § 5.*) who adds, that the city-bishops (ordinaries) were accountable for the ordination of the country-bishops (*Chorepiscopi*) to a provincial synod. In the case of St. Columba it is very natural to suppose, that the intention was to make him simply a *chorepiscopus*, so as to entrust him with the care of the rural district adjoining Dairnagh, [i.e., *Durrugh*, in the King's County,] and accordingly it was not necessary to apply, for his consecration, to more bishops than one. As the Irish had but one name for bishops and *chorepiscopi*, it is often difficult to know whether persons mentioned in our Church history were ordinaries of dioceses or of that subordinate class. If we read of their having been consecrated by only one bishop, we may justly conclude that they were only *chorepiscopi*. Or if we find them, as is often the case, moving from one country or province to another, a similar inference may be drawn; whereas the canons did not allow, except on some extraordinary occasions, ordinaries to quit the sees to which they had been originally appointed.

"There is a third point connected with this anecdote, or rather with the supposition that it might have taken place. It is more difficult of explanation than those already discussed; for, it will be asked, could the rites used in the ordination of a priest have been mistaken for those practised in the episcopal consecration? It is true, that in later times some ceremonies and prayers have been added in the performance of these acts, which mark more distinctly the difference between them; yet they were always clearly distinguishable by the respective rites and forms of prayer used in administering them, as may be seen in Habert's *Archieratikon* (p. 312. *seqq.*) Bingham's *Origines*, &c. (*B. 2, ch. xi. § 8, 9, compared with ch. xix. § 17.*) and as still observed by the ancient Oriental sects. [i.e., I suppose, the Eastern Churches, &c. R.K.] (See Renaudot, *Perpet. de la foy sur les Sacraments*, L. V., ch. 8, 10.) Neither Etchein nor Columba could have been mistaken as to the nature of the act during its celebration. Therefore whatever was the oversight or mistake alluded to in that narrative, it must have been of some other kind. Etchein might have acted designedly in conferring at first only the order of priesthood, through a wish not to violate the rule of not ordaining *per saltum*, but with the intention of afterwards giving him episcopal ordination. To this Columba submitted, and meanwhile formed his determination not to rise higher. In process of time, persons who thought he should have been made bishop, ascribed the whole to a mistake; or it may be supposed, that through a particular interference of Providence, Etchein forgot that Columba had been sent to him for the purpose of being raised to the episcopal order, and knowing that he was only a deacon, thought it sufficient to confer on him merely that of priesthood.

At any rate this anecdote, whether true or not, plainly shows that the [rather, a. R.K.] distinction between bishops and priests was well understood in Ireland. (Ec. Hist. ii. pp. 128, seqq.)

In several other places of his history, also, Dr. Lanigan finds it convenient to refer to the same ingenious notion of *Chorepiscopi* in Ireland; as, for instance, in attempting to explain how so large a number of bishops as 350 could be found comprised in the first Class of Saints above mentioned, in connection with which, he remarks, E.H., ii. 14 that,

"If the number be correct, it must be accounted for on the principle of including the *chorepiscopi* under the name of *bishops*, and on the practice of granting episcopal consecration to the superiors, [rather, to *members*; R.K.] of religious houses."

And, again, considering the point, whether the famous Irish Saint, Fursey, of Lagny, near Paris, was a bishop or not, Dr. L. suggests, that "perhaps he was a *chorepiscopus*, or one of those bishops without regular sees, of whom there were in those days, many in Ireland." And in other places to which we need not now refer, our author has recourse to the same principle. Well might he say, that of bishops without regular sees there were very many in Ireland in those days, seeing that there were certainly no others generally established in the island for six hundred years after St. Patrick's time, no local succession of bishops in a particular station having commenced before the origin of that in Dublin, A.D., 1038; and no "regular see," according to the Doctor's notion, or the usual diocesan form, having been constituted by public ecclesiastical authority in the country before the Synod of Rathbreasail in A.D., 1110. But as for all that he has alleged above about the existence of *chorepiscopi* in Ireland, it seems to be as complete a piece of pure invention, as one could easily meet with in the pages of any well informed historical writer, and not a whit less destitute of any foundation in the Irish Annals, than many of those absurdities which the same author has justly enough ridiculed in the Antiquities of Dr. Ledwich. Dr. Lanigan admits that "the Irish had but one name for bishops and *chorepiscopi*," but had he been a little less under the influence of prejudices, which have interfered with the correctness of his statements in other parts of his learned work, as well as in this place, he might have seen that the reason why they made use of but one name in this instance was, that they had not among them the two offices, as knowing nothing about *Chorepiscopi*, such as Dr. L. describes; their bishops being all without "regular sees," and none of them subordinate, in any single instance mentioned in the Irish Annals, "to the regular bishop in whose diocese they were stationed." For the latter was but an imaginary personage, and, as such, little likely to interfere with their labors.

The fact of the matter appears to be simply this. The strange peculiarities of discipline which are observable in the Annals of the early Irish Christians, form one of the many striking evidences which are admissible, of their complete independence of any foreign control whatsoever in spiritual matters: it being quite plain that, had they been under the authority of the Church of Rome, or her head, the same principles of government, and form of discipline, which regulated her practices in other lands, would have been adopted and acted on here also, at least in matters of such consequence, and settled with such universal uniformity, in all parts of her body, as those which were concerned in the irregularities we have noticed. But this, of course, it would have been in the last degree inconvenient for Dr. Lanigan to have admitted; and therefore has he had recourse to this notable device of Irish *chorepiscopi*. What, however, can be more absurd than his mode of reasoning as to the principle to be applied to distinguish the imaginary from the real order of bishops? 'If we read of them as having been consecrated by but one bishop, or taking the liberty of moving from one country or province to another,' or, in fact, doing any thing very odd and out-of-the-way, such as we do not generally read of any but Irish bishops having done, then we are to conclude, that the parties concerned could have been no ordinary bishops, but of another class, for which there was in this island no particular name: and this, because it is well known that the ancient Irish were so very orderly and accurate in all their arrangements, ecclesiastical and secular, that to understand their historians as really intending to attribute to them anything like a deviation from regular system and order, however plainly they may seem to do so, would be very unjust! So at least seems Dr. Lanigan to have reasoned; with whom, however, we cannot, unfortunately, record our agreement; although that "he deals with the story with his usual good judgment," is the opinion expressed in a work of high authority, and from the statements of which we are not in general disposed to dissent. In the work in question, viz., the learned *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, &c.*, (p. 130) it is further noticed that,

"Bishop Lloyd was of opinion that a political cause obstructed the advancement of St. Columbkille to the episcopate: but this hypothesis is opposed to the influential position which that Saint held, and the means, which were abundantly within his reach, of attaining to the highest ecclesiastical dignity."

What precedes, relative to the *chorepiscopi*, has been introduced in consequence of the attempt made to account, by the supposed existence of such an order, for the two peculiarities, (viz., of the multiplying of bishops, and their mode of consecration by a single prelate,) with which we are more immediately concerned. Continuing now our observations on those points from the learned *Antiquities* of Dr. Reeves, we find at p. 127, of that volume, the remarks that follow:—

"It is the opinion of some, and has been put forward with great force by Dr. Lanigan, that to the early existence, in Ireland, of the order called *chorepiscopi*, or country bishops, is to be attributed the great number of bishops which characterised the Church of St. Patrick. The *chorepiscopi* differed from the cathedral bishops in this, that whereas the Council of Nice required the attendance of, at least, three bishops at the consecration of the latter, the Council of Antioch declared that the *chorepiscopus* is ordained by the bishop of the city within the jurisdiction of which his district lay. It is argued, that the decrees of the First General Council could not have been unknown in Ireland, or departed from in common practice. This principle is recognised in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, where it is stated, ['that he set over the Church of Tamney, Bishop Carellus, whom, according to the usage of the Church, Patrick, Bronus, and Bitaeus ordained bishop.*'] So also, in the following age, when Finan, Bishop of Lindisfarn, who was a native of Ireland, having [qu., *had?*] found that the work of the Gospel was prospering under the preaching of Cedd, ['he made him bishop over the nation of the East Saxons, having called in two other bishops to assist him in the ordination service.*'] Hence, therefore, Dr. Lanigan argues, that when Lanfranc, in 1074, complained, ['that bishops are consecrated by a single bishop*'] and Anselm, in 1110, ['the bishops too, that ought to be to others a model and pattern of canonical religion, are, as we hear, consecrated without any regard to due order, either by single bishops, or in places where they ought to be ordained,*'] these prelate were not aware of the existence of the order of *chorepiscopi* in Ireland, where they remained to a later date than in any other part of Christendom; and that the ordination of these was mistaken for that of cathedral bishops." (p. 128.)

It seems utterly improbable, however, that any such order could have existed, and comprised large numbers of persons in its ranks in Ireland, unknown to Lanfranc and Anselm; and if it were possible for the order to have been so very prevalent, without these famous and learned primates being aware of it, well informed as they were in all acknowledged principles affecting such cases, the charge made might in that case have been easily refuted, by an explanation on the part of the Irish authorities, and then it would not have been repeated, as it was.

The following is, more at large, the language made use of by Anselm, in writing on this subject, A.D., 1100, to Muriardach, or Murtoigh, King of Ireland:—"It is also stated," says he, "that bishops are elected in all places in your country, and appointed to their office without any fixed episcopal district, and that the bishop is ordained, like any presbyter, by a single bishop; a practice which it is clear is utterly at variance with the sacred canons, which enjoin that such as are instituted or

* Dr. Reeves is not responsible for the words between the brackets, which are translated from the original Latin passage given by him.

ordained after that form, with their ordainers, are to be deposed from the episcopal office. For a man cannot be constituted a bishop according to the will of God, unless he have a certain parish and flock assigned him to superintend; as, even in a worldly sense, one cannot have the name or office of pastor, without having a flock to feed. The honor due to the episcopal character also suffers no little degradation, where a person is advanced to the pontifical degree, who after his ordination cannot say whither he is to turn, or whom for certain to preside over, in the exercise of his episcopal ministry." St. Bernard, in his *Life of Malachy*, (A.D., 1150,) touches on the same disorderly kind of proceedings, though in a somewhat less accurate way, as one who, being at a greater distance, knew less of the real state of affairs in Ireland, "Without order," says he, "without reason, bishops were changed about and multiplied at the pleasure of the metropolitan, (a thing unheard of since the first origin of Christianity,) so that one bishopric was not content with one of them, but nearly every church must have a bishop of its own."

Another ancient writer, who notices the use, among the Irish, of the single method of consecration, without having ever heard of Dr. Lanigan's *chorepiscopi* to explain it, is John of Tinnuth, (A.D., 1366,) in his life of the famous St. Kentegern, bishop of Glasgow; in which is given the following account of the election and consecration of that prelate:—

"Now, S. Kentegern enjoying a very high reputation in the place of his residence above mentioned, in consequence of the great abundance of spiritual gifts which he possessed, the king and clergy of the Cambrian territory, with the other Christians belonging to it, who were, however few in number, came together by divine direction; and having held a consultation as to the best means of improving the condition of the Church, which was at the time well nigh completely ruined, they all with one consent came to S. Kentegern, and elected him for pastor and bishop of their souls: a proceeding to which he, for his part, offered much opposition, and suggested many difficulties. He mentioned, for instance, as a reason against their electing him, the unsuitableness of appointing to such an office, one so little advanced in years as himself. But this objection they overruled by referring to his life and conduct, in which was exhibited a sedateness and gravity of demeanour worthy of hoary hairs, and to his high attainments in wisdom and knowledge.

"Accordingly, they made arrangements for installing him in his throne, and having sent over for one bishop from Ireland, according to the usual practice of the Britons and Scots, [or Irish people] of that period, they caused him to be consecrated for their pontiff [i.e. bishop.] It had become the practice in Britain, in the consecration of pontiffs, merely to anoint their heads by pouring on the sacred chrism, with invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the benediction, and imposition of hands: a mode of performing the rite which these foolish people used to say that they had adopted on the authority of the Divine Law, and from the tradition of the Apostles. But although this mode of consecration, used by the Britons, may seem to be rather at variance with the Sacred Canons, it is not however thereby convicted of destroying the energy and effect of the divine mystery, or of the episcopal office. And as those islanders, dwelling in a place beyond the very world's end, had, after the outbursting of the Pagan invasion, become ignorant of the Canons, the judgment of the Church, compassionating their condition, allows their apology thus far. But she does by no means permit that any one should escape grave censure, who presumes, at the present day, to take part in a rite administered in such a form. (See Ussher's *Brit. Ec. Ant.*, Cap. xv. Pinkerton's *Vite Antiquæ*, p. 223, and the *MS. E. 3. 8. f. 100. Lib. T.C.D.*)"

Kentegern was certainly not a *chorepiscopus*; for according to the same writer of his life, "his cathedral seat he fixed in the town of Glasgow," and his "episcopal diocese" was coextensive with the Northern Cambrian realm, by authority of whose prince he was elected bishop. And yet his consecration was performed by a single bishop, sent for to Ireland, for the purpose; and this was no exceptional or peculiar case, but "according to the usual practice of the Britons and Irish of that period," in so far as the number thought necessary for consecration was concerned. The exceptions were on the other side; and are extremely few. The case of Patrick, &c., ordaining Bishop Carellus for the Church of Tamney, may be taken as an indication of an intention, on the part of Ireland's Apostle, to establish a more canonical practice in the country; but if so, I am not aware that any single instance can be mentioned, in which this intention was acted on in Ireland during the six hundred years concerning which more especially I now write. As to the other case, of the triple consecration of Cedd by Finan, Bishop of Landisfarne, it is rather irrelevant to the object of this inquiry, as having occurred in England. For that Irishmen resident in foreign places should accommodate their practice to the sentiments of those among whom they lived, in things which they regarded as indifferent, or in which they had learned to approve of the practice followed by others in those places, was nothing extraordinary. But still, instances of this sort had no effect in altering the general state of matters at home, as already described.

If indeed the name of *chorepiscopi* could with propriety be given to any of the Irish Bishops before A.D., 1110, then might the same, it would seem, be given to all of them, seeing that there were no such distinctions among them as would make it proper for some, and not for others, before that period. But although those old Irish Bishops were all of them more like the *chorepiscopi* than any other kind of bishops elsewhere, as in being ordained by a single bishop, &c., yet, as we have seen, they were in other respects sufficiently distinct from those who usually bore that name; and particularly in not being in any way subject to diocesan bishops, or at all connected with them. It was only when there came to be diocesan bishops in the country, i.e., after 1110, that there could be any *chorepiscopi* in it, in the usual sense of the word; and then, indeed, any bishops of the old Irish system, who might remain resident in the newly-appointed sees, might naturally enough be designated by that title, as a not very honorable one, to distinguish them from the prelates who were thenceforth to be acknowledged as the ordinaries of those new sees. Accordingly, we find mention made of *chorepiscopi* (though with a very loose signification, probably, of the word,) in a Latin document connected with the diocese of Meath, and bearing date, A.D., 1216, which document implies the existence of the order, or at least an order called by the same name, in Ireland, at that time when arrangements were made for its suppression. Of these matters, the account given by Dr. Reeves, who appears to admit, to some extent at least, the correctness of Dr. Lanigan's idea of *chorepiscopi* in Ireland, is as follows:—

"Among other effects produced by papal influence in Ireland, was the suppression of this order, and the substitution of rural deans for it. The best authorities are of opinion that the latter office was unknown in this country until the year 1152, when the Synod of Kells, under Paparo the Pope's Legate, enacted ['that on the death of *chorepiscopi* and bishops of the smaller sees in Ireland, there should be elected to succeed into their place, archpresbyters, to be constituted by the diocesans, who were to have the charge of the clergy and people within their districts, and that their sees should be erected into so many heads of rural deaneries.*'] Accordingly, in a constitution of Simon Rochfort, Bishop of Meath, in 1216, after reciting the above decree, it was enacted: ['that in the Churches of Triun, Kells, Slane, Skryne, Dunshaughlin, formerly episcopal sees in Meath, but now heads of rural deaneries, the archpresbyters hereafter to be instituted into them, are not only to reside, permanently and in person, in the same churches, but are likewise to pay attention to the charge of the clergy and people within the limits of their deaneries.*'] It is also worthy of being mentioned, as illustrative of the frequency of bishops' sees in early times, that besides these five heads of rural deaneries, there are, within the jurisdiction of the modern see of Meath, sixteen Churches which are recorded as having been the seats of bishops.

[Then, after a reference to the particular case of the rural deaneries in Down and Connor, our author proceeds thus:—] "The increase of bishops in Ireland was further owing to the custom, which prevailed from the commencement, of combining the episcopal and abbatial offices in the founders or superiors of religious houses; or of associating a bishop in the brotherhood, when the rector was only a priest. In a canon of an early synod, purporting to have been held by St. Patrick, is this description of the monastic life, ['Monks are such as live in retirement, unpossessed of worldly substance, under the control of a bishop or abbot.*'] Of the class who combined the two offices were the greater number of St. Patrick's cotemporaries or disciples, as Mac Nissi, the founder of Connor; Olcan, of Armoy; Mochay, of Nendrum. Such, also were occasionally to be found on the Continent." (p. 120.)

"A century having passed away after the commencement of St. Patrick's labours, a diversity of rules began to creep into the Church, and

* See note, p. 10, sup.

thereupon commenced the ['Second Order of Catholic presbyters.' For in this order there were few bishops, and many presbyters, to the number of CCC. They had one head, our Lord; but celebrated different masses and different rules. This order continued its existence during four reigns, i.e. from the latter part of the reign of Tuathal, through the whole reign of King Diarmaid, that of the two grandsons of Muir-eadhach, and that of Aedh, son of Ainmire.*] (i.e., from 544 to 599) The catalogue then recites the names of twenty-five saints belonging to this class, and among them, those of *Comgallus* and *Columba*." (ib.)

Of the case of Columba's monastery, and his successors at Iona, a good deal has been said already. Comgall here named was a presbyter, who founded, about the middle of the Sixth Century, the famous monastery of Bangor, in the now County of Down, described by St. Bernard, as one "that reared many thousands of monks, and was the head of many monasteries." From this abbey proceeded Columbanus, who founded the abbeys of Luxieu in Burgundy, and Bobio among the Apennines, and Gallus, who founded St. Gall, in Switzerland. The heads of this latter house were, during a long succession, presbyters, like those who governed Columkille's foundation at Iona, already spoken of. As to the motive which influenced these men, in so many instances, to refrain from seeking admission to the highest order of the ministry, the observation made by Dr. Reeves concerning it is apparently just enough. "It would seem," he says, "that the great devotedness of these men to the monastic life, and the peculiar cares which, under their rules, it entailed, as manual labour and other secular occupation, led them to adopt a course which lessened the obligations of their office, and left them more at liberty to follow their favorite pursuits." (*Antt.* p. 130.)

Accordingly, in the ancient Catalogue of Irish Saints above quoted, the decrease in the number of bishops to be met with in the Second Order, appears to have been connected, in the mind of the compiler of the catalogue, with a declension in spiritual religion, and an increase of worldly-mindedness in the Church. It may have gratified feelings of affected humility, and real deep rooted self-esteem, to decline the honor nominally associated with the episcopal dignity; as though the individual considered himself not sufficiently advanced in spirituality and holiness for promotion to such a position in the Church; while, in truth, it was in the abbatial office, after all, that the man ambitious for power, influence, and fame, was most likely to find full opportunity of gratifying such a spirit.

That the Episcopal office, however lowly esteemed in practice among the ancient Irish, was yet fully recognised by them as a completely distinct one from that of presbyter, and entitled to be regarded with peculiar honor and veneration, is abundantly apparent from the testimony of our ancient records in various places; as for instance, in that anecdote of Adamnanus, concerning a bishop from the province of Munster, who came to visit Columkille at Iona, who at first, from a spirit of humility, did his utmost to conceal his episcopal rank, but when, on the Lord's day, Columkille desired him to consecrate the Holy Eucharist, and he would have the Saint to join with him in the celebration of the office, "so that they should, as two presbyters, break together the bread of the Lord, the saint thereupon advancing toward the altar, and looking suddenly in his face, addressed him in these words: 'the blessing of Christ be on thee, brother; break this bread thyself alone, as it is meet for a bishop to do. For that thou art of episcopal rank, now know we full well. Wherefore soughtest thou thus far to hide thyself, that we should not render thee the veneration which is thy due.'" Again, the same writer mentions elsewhere the case of a presbyter, named Findchan, one of Columba's community, who was head of a monastery in Britain, and brought thither, to stay with him for some years, an Irishman, named Hugh Dubh, who had been leading previously a life of irreligion and outrage. "And after this Hugh had spent some time on his pilgrimage, the bishop was sent for, and he was there, in the establishment of Findchan aforesaid, although not according to due order, ordained a presbyter.—(*Vit. S. Col.* cap. 36. Colg.) This will assist us in interpreting what Bede says of Aidan, in connection with his mission to England:—"From this island, [Iona,] from the college of these monks, it was, that Aidan was sent to instruct the province of the Angles in the faith of Christ, after he had received the order of Episcopacy: which took place when Segenius, Abbot and Presbyter, ruled over the said monastery." Segenius and the seniors of Iona either had a bishop with them in their monastery at the time, or may, as in Findchan's case, have sent out for one, to consecrate Aidan. (See Reeves's *Antt.*, pp. 131, 279.)

It may be necessary to add, in explanation of the case of Findchan, that where it is said that Hugh Dubh was ordained with him, *not according to due order*, (*non recte*) it does not mean, as even the context of the passage above given shews, that there was anything contrary to their usual order in sending for a bishop to ordain a man priest in such a case, but that Hugh Dubh ought not to have been ordained at all, and that it was improperly effected, by means of the prejudice of private friendship, outweighing, with Findchan, higher considerations.

Bede, we have seen, mentions that the presbyter Abbot who governed Hy, or Iona, was entrusted with ruling authority over the whole province, and also the bishops themselves. How many they were, does not appear; but according to a very old poetic legend, attributed to Dallan Forgaill, a cotemporary of St. Columba's, when the latter came over to Ireland in A.D. 590, to attend the famous national convention at Drumcheatt (on the river Roe, in the county Derry,) he had a sufficiently large number of prelates and others in his train:—

"Two score priests was their number,
Twenty bishops, dignified and able;
For singing psalms, an exercise devoid of blame
Fifty deacons, and of students, thirty.—(*Reeves, ib.*)

"That Columkille associated a bishop with his brotherhood is not expressly mentioned, but that bishops from Ireland occasionally visited Iona is directly stated in Adamnan's Life of that Saint. And through their instrumentality it probably was that the foundation was laid for a succession of this order in the island." Such is at least the opinion of the Rev. Dr. Reeves on this point, who, in connection with it, cites from the *Four Masters* several entries proving the existence of stationary bishops at Hy in after times. Of these entries the first three are here subjoined. Fergna, mentioned in the first of them, was the fourth Abbot of the island in succession:—

"A.C. 622. St. Fergna the Briton, Abbot of Hy, and bishop, died on the Second of March.
A.C. 710. Coeddi, bishop of Hy, died.
A.C. 964. Finghin, anchorite, and bishop of Hy, died, &c."

From the practice of raising men to the episcopal order as a personal honour, without their being assigned any fixed sees, taken in connection with the missionary spirit, and the taste for travelling, evidenced among the old Irish people, it came to pass, that bishops from this island were often to be met with in other lands, and that, in such numbers, or under such circumstances, as to cause inconvenience to the ecclesiastical authorities in those places, and make it necessary for them to introduce laws to restrain their proceedings. For although some of the Irish prelates who went to reside in foreign lands, became in them the objects of high esteem and veneration, for their holy lives, and ministerial influence, and added to the credit and fame enjoyed by their native land in all western Europe in those days, yet it is easy to conceive that many must have been of an opposite character; and the charge of Simony which was brought against them, was not, perhaps, in all cases, unfounded; some exercising their episcopal office, even in the conferring of Holy Orders, for a pecuniary consideration, and as a means of support.

In the Council of Chalons (sur Saone,) held in 813, a Canon was therefore introduced, condemning the practices of these wandering Irish prelates in the following terms:—"There are in sundry places Scots, [i.e. Irishmen,] who allege that they are bishops, and are ordaining many idly disposed persons priests and deacons, without license from their lords or masters, whose conferring of orders, as being commonly involved in the heresy of Simony, and connected with many errors, we have all with one consent agreed on pronouncing to be properly regarded as utterly null and void." Still more express is the language made use of, three years later, on the same subject, by the second Council of Celeyth, in England, where the following enactment was introduced:—"It is forbidden to give permission to any person of the Scottish [i.e., Irish,] nation to usurp to himself the exercise of the sacred office in any one's diocese; nor must such an one be allowed to meddle with any of the functions of the sacred order, or to perform the office of baptism, or celebrate mass, or even distribute the eucharist to the congregation, because we are uncertain from whom they have their orders, or whether from any. We know that it is enjoined in the canons that none of the bishops or presbyters is to attempt to invade another's parish, unless with the consent of its own bishop. Much more should we abstain from any reception of the services of the sacred ministry from persons belonging to foreign nations in whose system no position of dignity, nor honor of any kind, is assigned to metropolitans." (See Wilkins, *Concil. vol. i. p. 170.*)

The truth of the statement here made, that there were no metropolitans in Ireland in those days, follows, by necessary consequence, from the facts to which the reader's attention has already been directed. For when there was no distribution of the island into dioceses, neither could their be any grouping together of dioceses into provinces, under the care of archbishops, primates, and metropolitans. The absence of any such offices among the early Irish Christians is accordingly sufficiently testified in those ancient records which throw any light on the subject; as we shall see in some instances presently. It is not meant to be said, that the name of archbishop was never in any single instance given to any of the old Irish prelates; but that there were among them no regular archbishops in the usual sense of the term; and that in the few instances which may be quoted, where the name does occur, as applied to any individual, it has a meaning very different from that commonly assigned to it now.

Giraldus Cambrensis, (who lived in the Twelfth Century, A.D., 1172,) does indeed mention, that "St. Patrick selected Armagh for his residence, and appointed it also to be as it were a metropolitanical see, and the proper place of the Primacy of all Ireland."—(*Topographia Hiberniæ*, dist. 3, cap. 16.) But how little such an arrangement was carried out, in the full sense of its terms, appears from what the same author adds in the very next chapter of the same book;—"But archbishops there were none," saith he, "in Ireland: but only the bishops did consecrate one another; until Johannes Papyrio, legate of the See of Rome, not many years ago, brought four Palls thither." "Whereupon," adds Archbishop Ussher, "some of our Chroniclers after him [i.e. Giraldus,] give this note concerning Gelasius, who was at that time Archbishop of Armagh, that 'he is said to have been the First Archbishop, because he used the first Pall;' and that others before him were called Archbishops and Primates in name only, for the reverence of St. Patrick as the Apostle of that nation."

The fact appears to be, that a kind of primacy was enjoyed, from the earliest period, by the Successors of St. Patrick in Armagh, or abbots of that place, whose office very soon became associated with the highest degree of eminence or influence belonging to any ecclesiastical dignitaries in Ireland: although this was so far from identifying them with what are usually called primates or metropolitans, that it did not even, as far as appears from any authentic historical evidence, involve the necessity of their being of the episcopal order at all, any more than the Successors of Columbkille in Iona or Derry, or those of St. Gall in Switzerland, or those of any other of the most eminent church founders among the old Irish saints.

The preeminence assigned in early times to the See of Armagh, is described in the following manner by the great St. Bernard, who also wrote in the latter part of the twelfth century. Having mentioned how Primate Celsus, when dying, had made a sort of will, in which Malachy O'Morgair was appointed to succeed him at Armagh, "this," adds Bernard, "he enjoined specially on the two kings of Munster, and the nobles of the country, by the authority of St. Patrick; the reverence and honour paid to whom, as the Apostle of that nation, who converted the whole country to the faith, is such, as to cause that See where he presided while alive, and where he reposes in death, to be regarded ever since, by all the people, with such veneration, that not only their bishops and priests, and the rest of the clerical body, but, also, their kings and princes, universally, are subject to its metropolitan in all obedience, and he exercises over them all an individual superiority." (*Vita Malachias. Ed. Bened. Par. cap. x.*)

There was certainly no ecclesiastical personage in Ireland, whose rank approached more nearly to that of a metropolitan in other places, than did that of the Successor of St. Patrick; so that it is no wonder that St. Bernard applies to him that name, especially as in the time of Primate Celsus, to which he refers, the post was filled by a regular archbishop, as far as the Synod of Rathbreasail could constitute him such. But the transferring of the dignity and privileges enjoyed by the mere Successor of Patrick as such, to a succession of provincial archbishops, to be appointed in a new course, and to hold the primacy of Ireland on entirely new terms, was an arrangement not yet completed at the death of Celsus, nor to be so without further struggling of the mere Irish to maintain unaltered their old institutions.

Archbishop Ussher indeed, in his *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, (Ch. viii.) objects to the statement of Giraldus above cited, which denies the existence of archbishops in Ireland before the time of Cardinal Paparo's visit in A.D. 1151; but his observations on the matter, so far as opposed to any thing that we have said above, do not appear very weighty nor forcible. They are, however, of interest in connection with our subject, and run thus:—

"And indeed it might seeme, that the complaint made by Anselme in his letters to Muriardach, king of Ireland, that Bishops here were consecrated by Bishops alone, might somewhat justify the truth of Giraldus his relation; if we did not find a further complaint there also, that they were often ordained by one bishop onely. But as this latter argueth, not the want of a competent number of bishops in the land (for, as we shall here presently, they had more than a sufficient number of such) but a neglect of the observance of the Canon provided by the Nicene Fathers in that behalf; so can it not rightly be inferred out of the former, that we had no archbishops here at that time, but that the Bishops rather did faile much in the canonically respect which they ought to shew unto their Metropolitane.

"For that the Irish had their Archbishops (beside many other pregnant testimonies that might be produced) Pope Hildebrand's owne Briefs doth sufficiently manifest; which is directed to Terdeluachus (or Tirlagh) the illustrious king of Ireland, the ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, ABBOTS, NOBLES, and all Christians inhabiting Ireland. And for the Archbishops of Armagh in particular; it appeareth most evidently by Bernard in the life of Malachias, that they were so far from being Metropolitans and Primate in name only; that they exercised much greater authority before they were put to the charges of fetching Palls from Rome, than ever they did afterward: and that they did not onely consecrate Bishops, but erected also new Bishopricks, and Archbishopricks too some-times, according as they thought fitting.

"We read in Nennius, that at the beginning St. Patrick founded here 365 churches, and ordained 365 Bishops, beside 3,000 Presbyters. In process of time the number of Bishops was daily multiplied according to the pleasure of the Metropolitan, (whereof Bernard doth much complain) and that, not onely so farre that every church almost had a severall Bishop: but, also, that in some Townes or Cities there were ordained more than one; yea, and oftentimes Bishops were made without any certain place at all assigned unto them.

"And as for the erecting of new Archbishopricks: if we believe our Legends, King Engus and S. Patrick, with all the people, did ordaine that in the City and See of Albeus (which is Emelye, now annexed to Cashell) should be the Archbishoprick of the whole Province of Mounster. In like manner also, Brandubh, King of the Lagenians, with the consent as well of the Laity as of the Clergie, did appoint that in the City of Fernes

(which was the See of *Moedog*, otherwise called *Edanus*,) should be the Archbishopric of all the Province of *Leinster*. But *Bernard's* testimony, we have no reason not to believe, relating what was known to be done in his own very time: that *Celsus*, the Archbishop of *Armagh*, had of the new constituted another *Metropolitick* See, but subject to the first See, and to the Archbishop thereof. By which we may see that in the erection of new Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, all things were here done at home, without consulting the See of Rome for the matter."

Much more judicious and to the purpose, as illustrative of the real state of the case, are the observations of Dr. Lanigan on the official character of those early Irish prelates, or *archbishops*, as they are called in the Legends above cited. On the passage, for instance, from the *Life of St. Moedoc* (or *Edan*) just quoted by Ussher, he has the following comments: (the *Life* itself is published by Colgan in his *AA. SS.*, at Jan. 31.)—

"Ussher observes (p. 965) that by this regulation the archiepiscopate was removed from Sletty. (Compare with chap. vi. s. 5. and *ib. Not.* 53.) He adds, that it was afterwards transferred to Kildare, where, he says, we find it in the time of bishop Ferdornach, who died in the year 1101. But that privilege, such as it was, appears to have been annexed to Kildare long before this time; for Cogitoanus, who did not live later than the early part of the ninth century, (see *Not. 18 to chap. viii.*) in his prologue calls the bishop of Kildare an *archbishop*. I have already remarked (*Not. 87 to Chap. vi.*) that these so called *archbishops* of those times in Ireland, excepting the primate of Armagh, were not, strictly speaking, *metropolitans* invested with such jurisdiction as the canon law has established. They enjoyed, by courtesy, a sort of honorary preeminence, which, as may be concluded from the title passing from one see to another, was, I dare say, often contested. It is true that, also, in the African provinces the title of *primate*, as the head bishop of each was called, used to pass through various sees; but there was a fixed rule as to this point; viz., that with the exception of the bishop or primate of Carthage, to whom all the other primates, bishops, &c., were subject, those African primates were always the oldest bishops, by consecration, of the respective provinces. Now in Ireland we cannot discover any such settled regulation; and I am inclined to think, that some of those provincial *archbishops* owed their title and rank rather to the favour of princes than to ecclesiastical constitutions." (*Ec. Hist. ii. p. 340*).

But is there not found among the Canons of the early Irish Churches, one in which mention is made of appeals to the Archbishop of the Irish? And if so, how reconcile such a Canon with the assertions above made? Let us hear what Ussher and Lanigan have to say, severally, of this matter. The former, having alluded to a fictitious Charter attributed, by the monks of Glastonbury in England, to the authorship of St. Patrick, proceeds to make the following observations;—(*Religion of the A.I. ch. 8.*)

"Neither do I well know, what credit is to be given unto that stragling sentence, which I finde ascribed unto the same author. If any questions doe arise in this island, let them bee referred to the See Apostolicke, or that other decree, attributed to Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, and Benignus. Whosoever any cause that is very difficult, and unknown to all the Judges of the Scottish nations, shall arise; it is rightly to bee referred to the See of the Archbishop of the Irish (to wit Patrick,) and to the examination of the Prelate thereof. But if there, by him and his wise men, a cause of this nature cannot easily be made up: wee have decreed, it shall be sent to the See Apostolicke; that is to say, to the Chaire of the Apostle Peter, which hath the authority of the City of Rome. Onely this I will say, that as it is most likely, that St. Patrick had a special regard unto the Church of Rome, from whence he was sent for the conversion of this island: so if I myself had lived in his daies, for the resolution of a doubtful question I should as willingly have listened to the judgment of the Church of Rome, as to the determination of any Church in the whole world; so reverend an estimation have I of the integritie of that Church, as it stood in those good daies. But that St. Patrick was of opinion, that the Church of Rome was sure ever afterward to continue in that good estate, and that there was a perpetuall privilege annexed unto that See, that it should never erre in judgment, or that the Pope's sentences were alway to bee held as infallible oracles; that will I never believe. Sure I am that my countrey men after him were of a farre other beleefe; who were so farre from submitting themselves in this sort to whatsoever should proceed from the See of Rome, that they oftentimes stood out against it, when they had little cause so to doe."

Lanigan's remarks on the same Canon are contained in the following note; (*Ec. Hist. ii. 391*):—

"One of the Canons ascribed to St. Patrick runs thus in Ware's Edition; (*Opusc. &c. p. 41.*) '*Si quæ quæstiones in hac insula oriantur, ad sedem Apostolicam referantur.*' In Dachery's edition *quæ* is omitted. The meaning of this Canon is more clearly expressed, as quoted by Ussher, (*Discourse on the Religion, &c. chap. 8.*) the substance of which is as follows:— 'If a difficult cause may occur, which cannot be easily decided by the Irish prelates and the See of Armagh, it shall be sent to the Apostolic See, that is to the chair of the Apostle St. Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome.' This Canon, which Ussher copied from an old book of the Church of Armagh, is attributed to a Synod of Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, and Benignus, and is on the whole in these words:— '*Quæcunque causa valde difficultis exorta fuerit, atque ignota cunctis Scottorum gentium judiciis, ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium (id est, Patricii) atque hujus antistitis examinationem recte referenda. Si vero in illa, cum suis sapientibus, facile sanari non poterit talis causa prædictæ negotiationis, ad sedem apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri apostoli cathedram, auctoritatem Romæ urbis habentem. Hi sunt qui de hoc decreverunt, id est Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus.*' Ware adds (*loc. cit. p. 123.*) that it was headed, '*De alienis provinciis adeundis ad judicandum in causis difficultioribus.*' I suspect that this canon, as now quoted, is not quite as ancient as St. Patrick's times, and that it is a paraphrastic explanation of the original short one of St. Patrick, &c., yet conveying its true meaning. It seems to allude to Scottish churches out of Ireland, which also should have recourse to the See of Armagh. Now there were no such churches in St. Patrick's days. These canons prove, besides the primacy of Armagh, that the Irish Church did from the beginning acknowledge the supremacy of the See of Rome. Otherwise would it have referred its difficult questions to a see so distant from Ireland, while at that period there were several eminent churches much nearer to us, such as those of Tours, Toledo, &c., unless a peculiar prerogative were believed to belong to the chair of St. Peter?

It is hard to say where Dr. Lanigan reckoned on finding the amount of ignorance necessary for feeling the force of this last argument, or what opponent he may have thought likely to accept the notion, that Tours or Toledo was, all things considered, as convenient a place where to seek information in such cases, as Rome. But for whomsoever, or by whomsoever, this Canon was made, (concerning which we know nothing as to the date, or place of its enactment,) certain it is that the Irish Church did not receive it, nor act on it. When difficult cases arose among them, they never did, in any instance recorded in history, adopt the course, of appealing first to the Primate of Ireland, and from him, for a final conclusion, to the See of Rome, during those ages of which we write here; though we are not without at least one remarkable case in exemplification of their acting otherwise. The learned Cummian, in his difficulties about the Paschal question, did not refer the case to "the Archbishop of the Irish," but to the successors of a certain number of eminent church-founding saints of the South of Ireland. And when their settlement of the matter appeared to him and others insufficient for the guidance of their conduct, he then acted on the principle, as he himself expresses it, that "where any cases of more weighty importance arise, they are to be referred, according to the *Synodical decree, to the Head of Cities*," i. e., Deputies were sent to Rome, the Head City of the world, to collect information, and report from their own observation, for the benefit of their brethren at home, as to the practice of the foreign churches generally. But of consulting "the Apostolic See," for any definition by divine authority, or any sanction, save what of eminence and experience "the authority of the city of Rome" gave to its prelate beyond others of the Christian Church, Cummian says nothing. Even Dr. Lanigan himself "suspects" that the Canon above cited, in which the word *archbishop* occurs, is not so old as the time of St. Patrick; which amounts pretty nearly to admitting it to be a forgery, as I am strongly inclined to think it is, and so, of little consequence, after all, to the matter specially treated of in this memoir.

What importance is to be attached to the Legend, which tells us that King Engus and St. Patrick appointed Emly to be the Archbishopric of the whole Province of Munster, may be well estimated from that which Ussher immediately after adds, from St. Bernard, relative to the origin of the Archbishopric of Cashel in his own days. On this subject, in connection with mention of Primate Malachy's desire to obtain for Armagh the distinction of a papal pall, the words of Bernard are these:— 'There was also another metropolitick See, which *Celsus* had of the new constituted, subject, however, to the first see and

* This opinion of Abp. Ussher, as to the source of St. Patrick's mission, has not been confirmed by the historical researches of some of the most careful and critical inquirers into the matter since his days.—See *Phelan's Decian Letters*, &c.

its archbishop as primate, and for this also Malachy was desirous to secure a pall, and a confirmation, by authority of the Apostolic See, of the prerogative, which it had by favor of Celsus been judged worthy to obtain,' (*Vit. Mal. c. xv.*) This authentic statement plainly informs us, that there was no second metropolitan see in Ireland in the twelfth century, until Celsus 'of the new constituted' one at Cashel. Had there been any others in the kingdom in A.D., 1148, Malachy would not then have sought for *only two* palls: and we have, in fact, abundant historical testimony that it was only in A.D., 1152, four years later, that the other two Archbishoprics of Ireland, viz., Tuam and Dublin, were created, and honored with palls, by Cardinal Paparo, at the Synod of Kells. So that if there be any truth in the statement, that St. Patrick and King Engus appointed by their joint authority, an archbishopric for Munster in the Fifth Century, it is quite plain that the arrangement was not acted on in after times, nor any succession of Archbishops maintained at Emly. The act of Celsus was not a translation of the archiepiscopal dignity to a new see, but the *new constituting*, or creating, of that dignity in Cashel.

As for 'Pope Hildebrand's owne Briefe,' referred to by Ussher in the passage above cited, it would have answered better for our illustrious Primate to have adduced, in place of it, some of his 'many other pregnant testimonies' in proof of the existence of regular metropolitans in Ireland during the period under consideration; for although Briefes of that sort, if people be willing to rely on all their statements, will serve to prove many strange things, less plainly manifest in regular historical writings, yet some evidence derived from Irish documents, or from the works of those who knew more about the state of Ireland at that time than did Pope Hildebrand, would go farther to settle a point of this kind, with one inclined to receive the accounts of it given by Giraldus Cambrensis, and others of his age. Let us examine what information our native Annalists furnish concerning the matter.

For this purpose it will be sufficient to consult the Digest of such information supplied in Professor O'Donovan's exceedingly valuable Edition* of the *Annals of the Four Masters*. To the industry and zeal of the famous compilers of that work, we are indebted for the preservation of much curious historical matter which would perhaps otherwise have been lost to us. But it is impossible to bestow unqualified praise on either the judgment, or candour, exhibited by them, in their mode of dealing with the Original Annals, and other records of earlier date than their own time, of which they found occasion to make use in the construction of their great Work. To enter on any proofs of this statement is no part of our purpose here, further than by referring, in illustration of the more serious charge, (of unfaithfulness in using their materials) to their practice of omitting the notices to be found in the *Annals of Ulster*, (one of their most valuable sources of information,) of the quarrels and battles between the old monks and their superiors on different occasions; obviously with a view to concealing, as far as might be, a circumstance discreditable to the character of the monastic institute. Their Editor, however, unable to sympathise with such disingenuousness, has taken care to supply in his notes any such omissions—(See on this subject his observation at A.D., 802, [*recte*, 807,] p. 413, note x.)

In all the *Annals* belonging to the latter part of the *Fifth*, and the entire of the *Sixth* Centuries, or, more particularly, from A.D. 430 to A.D., 600, while many bishops and abbots are mentioned, the name of *archbishop* is applied to but *two* individuals, Patrick, and Ailbhe of Emly. In the Obit of Patrick, at A.D., 493, he is called, "Patrick, son of Calphurn, son of Potaide, archbishop, first primate, and chief Apostle of Ireland." The title of "Abbot of all Ireland" is given him in an old metrical fragment quoted at A.D., 432, of the same annals. And at A.D., 457, they notice his founding of Armagh, and appointing twelve men to build the town, and "to erect an archbishop's city there, and a church for monks, for nuns, and for the other orders in general, for he perceived that it should become the head and chief of the churches of Ireland at large," if we may depend on the account of these matters given by the Four Masters.—Of Ailbhe, "Archbishop of Emly", the death only is recorded at 541.

In the *Seventh* Century, including the most famous epoch in the history of the early Irish Church, among the many names of saints, abbots, and bishops, whose obits are on record in the Annals, there does not occur any mention of a single *archbishop* of any see.

In the *Eighth* Century, the entries in the Annals connected with the names of bishops, abbots, wise men, &c., became very numerous, but they include no mention of any Irish *Archbishop*.

In the Annals of the *Ninth* Century, the records of events become still fuller and more copious, (as they do increasingly in the centuries which follow,) but they include only one mention of the title *archbishop*, viz., at A.D., 895, where we have a notice of the death of "Melbride, son of Proly, a holy man, who was *Archbishop* of Munster"—(Dr. O'Donovan would have done better not to have interpolated, in his Translation of the Annals at A.D., 835, the title of "*Archbishop of Ardnacha*" after the name of Dermot, there mentioned, those words not being in the original.)

The Annals of the *Tenth* Century are very voluminous. But of all the ecclesiastics named in them, only one, viz., Melmogue, Abbot of Glen-Uisean [Killeslin] near Carlow, is styled an Archbishop. In the mention of his death at A.D., 915, he is called "the archbishop Melmogue, son of Dermot, who was of the Ui-Conannla, Abbot of Gleanu-Uisean, a distinguished scribe, anchorite, and an eminent proficient in Latin scholarship, as well as in the language of Scotia." But it may be observed that in the older *Annals of Ulster* the same personage is merely called, "the son of Dermot, Wise man and *Bishop* (*Sapiens et Episcopus*) of Leinster."

In the still more voluminous Annals of the *Eleventh* Century, the title of archbishop is not much less sparingly employed; it being to be met with only two or three times in the latter years of this age, in the following instances:—1. We have at A.D., 1085, the death of "Aedh Ua hOisin, Coarb [or *Successor*,] of Jarlath, and Archbishop of Tuam." 2. Again, at the next following year, 1086, that of "Ercadh Ua Mulfover, Archbishop of Connaught." 3. At A.D., 1092, occurs that of "Conway O'Carrel, a bishop, and excellent moderator," who in the *Annals of Ulster* is entitled "Conmach O'Cairill, *Archbishop* of Connaught." 4. And lastly, Donnell O'Heney, whose death is recorded by the Four Masters at A.D., 1098, although called by them only, "Donnell O'Heney, of the Dalcassian tribe, a chief *anmchara* [spiritual adviser,] and *noble bishop*, head of the wisdom and piety of the Gael," and so forth, is in the *Annals of Ulster* entitled, "Donell O'Hena, *Archbishop of West Europe*, and bright fountain of the world."

Only once again is the title of *archbishop* to be met with in the portion of the Annals which refers to the period prior to the Synod of Rathbreasail, viz., at A.D., 1108, where is mentioned the death of "Maelfinnen, i.e., Archbishop of Leinster, Coarb of Colum, son of Crivhan" [*i.e.*, Abbot of Terryglass.]

Thus it appears, that of the numberless ecclesiastics whose names are on record in the Annals before the date, A.D., 1085, i.e., for about 600 years from the death of St. Patrick, only three besides himself, viz., Ailbhe of Emly, Melbride, son of Proly, and Melmogue, son of Dermot, are called archbishops, by the Four Masters. In the remaining 25 years before the Synod of Rathbreasail, they confer the title on three others, namely, Aedh Ua hOisin, "*Archbishop of Tuam*," Ercadh Ua Mulfover, "*Archbishop of Connaught*," and Maelfinnen, "*Archbishop of Leinster*;" to whom two others are, within the same period, added by the Annals of Ulster, viz., Conway O'Carrol, "*Archbishop of Connaught*," and Donnell O'Heney, "*Archbishop of West Europe*;" the last of whom is in the Annals of Innisfallen styled, (at A.D., 1098,) "*Archbishop of Cashel*."

* Which is not, however, free from very many inaccuracies; consisting chiefly of omissions, in the English Translation, of (not always unimportant) words and phrases occurring in the Irish.

The amount of metropolitical jurisdiction enjoyed by Archbishop O'Heney over Western Europe may serve as an index to us of that which the few others above-named were possessed of in the several districts of which they respectively were, in the old Irish sense, Archbishops. Their position was something like that of "Hoey O'Kelly, chief head (*ard-cheann*) of the men of Meath, distinguished * *bishop of all Ireland*," i.e., a bishop whose fame extended through the whole island. In fact, an archbishop, with the Irish, in those days, meant, not a *ruling* bishop, having authority of any kind over other bishops, but, an *eminent*, or *exalted*, bishop, distinguished beyond others for personal character and attainments, and of repute through a certain territory, of extent proportionate to his qualifications. And this is perfectly in accordance with the etymology of the term which the Irish employ to express an *archbishop*. Their word for *bishop* being *episcop*, or *escop*, formed from the Greek word, were they to compound this with *arch*, (as we do our analogous word, from the Greek *arche*, i.e., *rule*), the Irish word for the higher office would thus naturally become *archepiscop*, or rather, (according to the rules of Irish etymology,) *aircheascep*. Instead of this, however, the term actually employed by the Irish writers, as well as speakers, is, *airdesbog*, (or *airdescep*;) the first part of which is the common Irish word *ard*, signifying either *high* or *height*, (it being used either as a substantive or an adjective,) which occurs in so many Irish names of places,—Armagh, Ardbraccan, &c.

A little attention to the manner in which this monosyllable is used in composition with words expressive of different ecclesiastical states and offices, will help us further to understand the sense in which, so employed, it would be likely to strike an Irish ear. The following instances may be cited in illustration. At A.D. 1038 we have a "Conn Ua Sinaich, chief anchorite [*ard-anchoir*] of Connaught," mentioned. At the next year, one Oengus, "Lector of Clonmacnoise, chief sage [*ard-eagnaith*, i.e., 'eminent wise man,'] of the west of the world, died after penitence." At A.D., 1040, "Corcran Clery, anchorite, who was head of the west of Europe [*aird-cheand*, high or eminent head, &c.] for piety and wisdom, died at Lismore." At 1041 occurs the obit of one MacBeahy, "chief poet [*ard-ollav*] of Armagh, and of Ireland at large." At the same year, that of a "chief lector [*aird-fhearleyinn*] of Kildare." At 1061, that of a "chief spiritual adviser [*ard-anmchara*] of Ireland." At 1065, that of one Duach, "chief spiritual adviser [*ard-anmchara*] of Ireland and Scotland." At 1076, that of "Cele, son of Donnagan, chief senior [*aird-seanoir*] of the Irish, that is to say, bishop of Leinster." At 1085, that of Clery, "Chief Successor [*ard-comharba*] of Bairre." The famous Tighearnach, author of the Irish Annals, is called, at A.D., 1088, the "chief Successor of [SS.] Kieran and Comau," [*ard-comharba*]. At 1102, Murou Ua Morgair is named "chief-lector [*aird-fhearleyinn*] of Armagh, and of all the West of Europe." At 1105, Primate Donald, son of Awley, is called "ard-coarb (i.e. *eminent Successor*, which Dr. O'Donovan renders, *chief successor*), of Patrick." At 1106, is mentioned "Murtogh O'Kearney, chief lector [*ard-fhearleyinn*] of the Irish." Christian, bishop of Clogher, and brother to Malachy O'Morgair, is called at A.D. 1138, "a chief sage [*ard-shaoi*] in wisdom and piety." And to quote but one illustration more, Murray O'Duffy is called, at A.D. 1150, "Archbishop of Connaught, chief senior [*aird-sheanoir*] of all Ireland, in wisdom, in chastity, and for presenting jewels and food."

In all these instances of the use of the word *ard*, it appears to mean simply, that the person to whom is applied the compound word of which it forms a part, was *eminent* for character in his class, and especially in those points, or in that district, of which mention is made in connection with his name. When Primate Donald is spoken of as an '*ard-coarb* of Patrick,' it does not imply that he had any jurisdiction over other *Coarbs* or *Successors* of Patrick, but only that he was an *eminent* person in that series of Successors in which his name was included. So of those *archbishops* that we read of before the Synod of Rathbreasail, (and some of them also that came after,) in Ireland, we are not to understand from the title, that they enjoyed any metropolitical jurisdiction, such as belongs to archbishops now-a-days, but only that they were *eminent bishops* in such a place, or among the people of such a district, or that their fame and renown for personal qualifications was spread abroad through Munster, Connaught, Wexford, the Northern or Southern half of Ireland, or the West of Europe, as the case might happen to be.

Had the decisions of the Synod of Rathbreasail been immediately carried into execution, there should have been found after the time of its sitting, two fixed *archbishops* in Ireland, one at Armagh, for the Northern half, and one at Cashel, for the Southern. But matters appear to have been not so soon settled in this way, nor the old Irish notion of an archbishop so quickly superseded. For we find mention in the years which follow, not only of "Melmury Ua Dunain, Archbishop of Munster, Head of the Clergy of Ireland, and lord of the alms-deeds of the West of Europe," (at A.D., 1117,) "Melisa Ua Foley, Archbishop of Cashel" (at A.D., 1131,) "Donnell Ua Conaing, Archbishop of Leath Mogha" (i.e. of the *Southern half of Ireland*, at A.D. 1137, &c.), but also of Casey O'Conaill, "Archbishop of Connaught," (in the *Annals of Ulster*, at A.D. 1117,) "the Bishop Ua Cadan, Archbishop of Hy Kinshela" (i.e. Wexford territory, in the *Four Masters* at A.D. 1135,) Donnell O'Duffy, and Murray O'Duffy, "Archbishops of Connaught," (at 1136 and 1150, &c., respectively, of the same Annals,) and finally, "Cormac Ua Casey, Archbishop of Leinster," who is mentioned at A.D. 1146, in the same authority.

On the name of the "Archbishop of Hy-Kinshela" at A.D., 1135, Dr. O'Donovan adds this note, i.e., of *Ferns*. *There was no archbishopric of Dublin at this period*:"—Gregory being then bishop, but not archbishop, of that city. Here it appears to be insinuated that the Archbishopric of Leinster was then at Ferns. But according to the Rathbreasail arrangements, made 15 years previously, there should at this time have been no archbishop of Leinster at all; so that I am much inclined to think that "the archbishop of Hy-Kinshela" meant, in this place, nothing more than "the distinguished, or eminent, bishop" officiating in that district, according to the sense above explained as usually attached by the Irish to their word for an *Archbishop*.

It is certainly very worthy of remark, in connection with the statements now made, that *not once* in all the period from the death of St. Patrick to that of St. Malachy, in 1148, is the name of any *Archbishop of Armagh*, as such, mentioned by the *Four Masters*. During those six centuries and-a-half, there are very many persons brought under our notice in their Annals, as, 'abbots of Armagh,' 'successors of St. Patrick,' and 'bishops of Armagh;' but to none of them is the designation of *archbishop* applied by our Irish writers aforesaid. Nor need this be at all wondered at, after what has been thus far advanced in these pages; for if the old Irish, in the ages next following that of St. Patrick, had no particular idea of the necessity of maintaining any fixed episcopal successions in certain appointed localities, it was still less likely that they should have among them, during the same ages, such an *archi-episcopal* succession in one fixed locality, as many conceive to have been always maintained at Armagh.

But if there was not at first any such succession there, as is commonly supposed, what was the nature, it may be asked, of the succession which did really exist in the place? To this the proper reply appears to be, that it was of an abbatial character, consisting of the successive superiors of the monastic school established by St. Patrick. Of these abbots there was a regular succession continually maintained, until the days of Malachy O'Morgair, from whose time, and partly by whose exertions, the power and wealth formerly connected with the office of abbot, began to be engrossed by the line of metropolitical archbishops then commencing. At the same time, there had been ever a distinct, but probably less regular, succession of *bishops*,

*See *Four Masters*, A.D. 1140. Dr. O'Donovan inserts in his translation before "distinguished," the two words, "the most;" but they are not in the original, the Irish word *ard* being no superlative; as may be seen by a comparison of the numberless other instances of its occurrence, where Dr. O'D. translates it more exactly.—See for instance, several places where it occurs at A.D. 901.

connected with the same place, the series of whom, also, continued, as a distinct one from that of the abbots, to the same period, when it became absorbed in the archiepiscopal succession aforesaid; attaining in its new character to a degree of preeminence for worldly consequence, power, and means, of which the early bishops who had officiated in the place had little notion.

On the relations which subsisted between the early abbots and cotemporary bishops, especially in connection with places which afterwards became the heads of episcopal sees, the following observations of Dr. Reeves are very well deserving of attention:—

"Most of the ancient sees of Ireland appear to have had a monastic origin, the founders being either bishops, or presbyters who associated bishops with them in the government of their houses. But in such cases the memory of the founder was revered more as the father or first abbot than as bishop, and hence it was that the term *Comharba*, (*Cowarba*), which was applied to a successor in the government of the institution, had reference to his abbatial, not episcopal, office. Of these successors, some were only superiors, and others, according to their inclination or qualifications, were advanced to the episcopal rank. Hence while the abbatial succession was carefully maintained, there were occasional breaks in the episcopal line. Not that it is likely that the compass of a modern bishopric was ever without some one monastic establishment which had a bishop, but that the succession was not uninterruptedly preserved in any one monastery, not even in that one which, by some accident, came to be the cathedral of the diocese. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the diocesan arrangement, if any existed, was very fluctuating, according as one religious establishment started into existence, enjoying the superintendence of a distinguished head, or another sunk into obscurity, or was governed by a presbyter, or lay abbot. 'Such an interruption,' observes Dr. Lanigan, 'might have occurred in less distinguished sees or places, owing to the singular practice in Ireland of raising persons to the episcopacy, here and there, without confining such promotions to old established sees or places, where there had been bishops in former days. The appointment of a bishop in a new spot might have prevented the regular continuation of others in a contiguous place, which had bishops before.' (iii. 235.)

"It is true, indeed," continues Dr. Reeves, "that a Canon which bears the name of St. Patrick, ordains: ['That any bishop who goes from his own parish into a different one, is not to presume to ordain, without having received permission from him who occupies the see as its proper superior.*'] Yet this rule seems to have reference to towns, and to have been framed rather in anticipation, than as the result, of any diocesan arrangement in the island. Or perhaps it was the echo of an earlier enactment, as the 23rd Canon of the Council of Antioch, which decreed: 'A bishop must not intrude upon a strange city which is not subject to him; nor ordain presbyters or deacons for districts within the jurisdiction of another bishop, unless with the consent of the proper bishop of the place.'"

"Adamnan, in his *Life of Columba*, uses the word *diocesis* in reference to Ireland, but without any help to understand his application of the term. From a passage in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, it would seem that the extent of episcopal jurisdiction was regulated by accidental circumstances: ['S. Cetheus, the bishop, had under his jurisdiction several places isolated from one another, among which were two situated, one of them in his father's country, the other, Aghadaleg, in that of his mother.*']" In other words, the personal connection of Cetheus with those places led to his being employed in them for the celebration of such offices as might be looked for from an Irish bishop of those times, by their inhabitants. (See Reeves's *Antiquities of Down*, &c., pp. 136, 137.)

It is indeed possible, perhaps we might say, probable, that a place of so much importance as Armagh was, from the beginning, apparently considered to be, may never at any period of its history have been left without a bishop specially appointed for its own service. It is easy, also, to construct, from the *Annals*, a catalogue (though it cannot be a very perfect one) of the names of persons who in various ages filled the office. But if our desire be, to compile an enumeration of those ecclesiastics who successively became possessed of the chief ruling power at Armagh, and who were looked upon as the *Successors of St. Patrick*, or his *Representatives*, or '*Coarbs*' (as they were called,) in that place, then must we turn our attention to the series of abbots, and collect their several names from the *Annals*, to form the Catalogue which we have more immediately in view. The two-fold series, including all the names of both abbots and bishops on record in the *Annals*, from the time of St. Patrick, in the Fifth Century, to that of the establishment of a metropolitan archbishopric at Armagh, in the Twelfth, will be found in its proper part of the present essay.

The ordinary title, whereby the Successors of St. Patrick are distinguished in the earlier portion of the *Annals*, previously to the Tenth Century, is that of *Abbot of Armagh*, the style of "*Coarb of Patrick*" being less frequently applied. The following are some of the earliest instances of the use of the latter expression by the Four Masters:—At A.D., 496, Cormac, usually reckoned the fourth in Succession of the Primates of Ireland, is called the "*Coarb of Patrick*;" but it seems to be not without some reason that Dr. O'Donovan suspects a mistake in that passage of the Four Masters, the correction of which would leave this Cormac Superior, not of the Church of Armagh, but of that of Trim, in Meath, only. At A.D. 732, Congus, who is always reckoned among the Primates, is called "*Coarb of Patrick*;" and at A.D., 753, the same title is given to Torbach, another of the same number. The only other place where I have observed the use of the same expression before A.D. 800, is at 799, where Conmhach, (Conway,) another of the Primates, as usually reckoned, is named the "*Coarb of Patrick*." At A.D. 825, occurs mention of a dispute about "the Primacy" and "the *Coarbs*hip of Patrick;" and in later ages, and especially from A.D. 925, to the period of the English invasion, and subsequently, this latter name (of "the *Coarb of Patrick*") becomes the one by which the chief prelate of Armagh is commonly known in the *Annals*. The title of *Archbishop of Armagh* does not occur in them, as we have seen (unless as applied in the case of St. Patrick himself) until the death of Malachy O'Morgair, in 1148. Nor could this title have been properly employed as an ordinary designation of the abbatial successors of the Apostle of Ireland, until the time when the rank and influence and means connected with their ecclesiastical dignity was united, as it ultimately came to be, with the distinct official character and prerogatives belonging in the earlier ages to the person who acted as bishop of Armagh.

The word *Coarb*, (sometimes less properly written *Corbe*, and answering to the Irish *Comharba*, or *Comharba*, pronounced *Co-orba*; sometimes also written in the Latinised form *Comorbanus*, or *Comurbanus*, and thence, in English, *Comorban*,) is employed in the *Annals* as a common designation of the successors of all the other eminent Church-founding Saints of Ireland, as well as for those of St. Patrick, at Armagh. It is also occasionally employed as a term for designating ecclesiastical persons occupying church dignities in other countries. Thus, at A.D. 590, the *Annals* record the appointment of Gregory the Great to be "*Coarb of Peter the Apostle*," i.e., Bishop, or Pope, of Rome. At A.D. 606, we have the obit of S. Sillan, third abbot of Bangor, in the county Down, who is in that place called "S. Sillan, son of Caimin, abbot of Bangor, and *Coarb of Comhgall*," i.e. Successor and official Representative of the famous Comhgall, (or Cogal,) founder of Bangor, and its first abbot; who himself died, according to the Four Masters, in A.D., 600. The superiors of the Church of Aranmore Island, in Galway Bay, are called the "*Coarbs of St. Enda*," founder of that Church, A.D. 654, &c. The principal Church dignitaries of Cork, or, in other words, the abbots of the religious establishment there, are called "*Coarbs of Barry of Cork*," A.D. 680, &c., instead of which title (as well as for similar ones in other places of the *Four Masters*,) the *Annals of Ulster* have "*Prince of Cork*,"† i.e., Chief Prelate of the ecclesiastical establishment so designated. The corresponding word in the same place of Mageoghegan's *Annals of Clonmacnoisse* (translated in 1627, by a good Irish scholar, from an original now lost,) is "Bishop-prince of Cork." Again, at A.D. 732 of the Four Masters, the abbot of Aporcrossan, (now Applecross, opposite the Isle of Skye, in Rossshire, Scotland,) is called the "*Coarb of Maelruva*;" for which the *Annals of Ulster* have "*Heir of Maelruva*," and Dr. O'Donovan explains the title as meaning "abbot of the monastery erected by Maelrubha, abbot of Bangor, at Aporcrossan, in Scotland." At A.D. 775, the abbot of Aghaboe (in the Queen's County) is thus mentioned,

* See Note p. 10 sup. † *Princeps* is constantly applied to abbots in the Ulster *Annals*:—as Dr. O'Donovan remarks at A.D., 752 of the 4 *M.* note p. page 356.

"Scannal, abbot, Coarb of Kenny," i.e., successor of St. Kenny; (from whom Kilkenny is named.) The only other case of the occurrence of the word *Coarb*, besides those now noticed, which I have observed in the Annals previously to A.D. 800, is at A.D., 740, where is recorded the death of "Kenfela, Coarb of Drumcullen," a place in the now King's County, barony of Fircal.

The employment of the term in the last instance, it may be observed, is somewhat peculiar, it being connected, not as in the preceding cases, with the name of the founder of a church, but with that of the church or place itself. This way of using the word becomes, at a later period, not at all uncommon.

To add a few other instances, illustrative of the occurrence of the word *Coarb* in the part of the Annals after A.D. 800; we have, at A.D. 829, the superior of the Church of Moville, County Down, styled "the *Coarb of Finnen* of Moville," Finnen having founded the religious establishment of that place. The abbot of Derry is called "the *Coarb of Colum Cille*," at A.D. 852, &c.; and the abbot of Clonmacnoise, in like manner, "*Coarb of Kiaran*," the first founder of the Church there. In the Annals of the Tenth Century, &c., the word is constantly recurring; and we find frequent mention of the *Coarbs of Brendan, Tighearnach, Mac Nissi, Moedog or Edan, Fechin, Kevin, Colman Ela, Adamnan, Coman, &c., &c.*, meaning the several Heads, or Superiors, of the religious establishments founded by those individuals, at *Clonsfert, Clones, Connor, Ferns, Fore, Glendalough, Lynally, Raphoe, Roscommon, &c., &c.*, respectively.

The *coarbs*, or *corbes*, then, of the old Irish Churches, appear to have been, beyond all doubt, nothing else, in their first original, than the principal ecclesiastics, the rulers and governors, of the different religious establishments to which they respectively belonged, successors in office of the several eminent clerics who had founded those institutions, and as such, uniting generally, in their own persons, the dignity of abbot with the order of bishop or presbyter. As such also they enjoyed, over all the property, landed or other, and all the persons, belonging to their several foundations, that full and unlimited control, which in the monastic system, was entrusted to the abbot for the time being, and which had originally been assigned to the first founders of their several churches.* Of those first founders they were, in fact, regarded as the *heirs*, this latter term being used in the *Annals of Ulster*, in different places, to express the same relationship as is implied in the other word *coarb*. One instance of this has been given already, in the case of Maelruva, founder of Aporcrossan Church, at p. 7 sup. And another may be pointed to at A.D. 851, of the Ulster Annals, where it is stated, that, in that year, "Two *Heirs* of Patrick, viz., Forinnan, Bishop and Anchorite, and Diarmaid, wisest of all the Doctors of Europe, entered into rest." In the corresponding passage of the Four Masters, the same persons are styled, "Two *Coarbs* of Patrick." The addition of the title "*Bishop*" to the former implies plainly, that it was a casual distinction, not necessarily implied in the name of *Coarb of Patrick*, nor common, by any means, to all holders of that office, any more than that of anchorite, which in Forinnan's case was united with it.

The land assigned, for the endowment of a Church, or monastic establishment, to its first founder, or patron saint, was called by the Irish its *Termon*, a name borrowed apparently from the Latin *Terminus*, a boundary. "Let the *Termon* of the sacred place have its marks around it," says an old Canon of the Irish Church, on this subject, † in the Latin of which, the word *Terminus* is used, where *Termon* occurs in the translation just given. The *Termon* land of a church was considered to have by right the privilege of Sanctuary, and to be free from any owing of rents or other exactions to temporal lords. But that those lay lords did not allow them to continue free from such exactions and contributions, is clear from the *Fourth Act of the Synod of Cashel*, in 1172, which distinctly states that they were in the habit of levying them at regular and stated periods, as well as casually at other times. The Constitution in question runs thus:—

"*Fourthly*. That all Church lands, and possessions belonging to them, be wholly free from exaction on the part of all secular persons. And especially, that neither petty kings, nor chieftains, nor any other powerful men in Ireland, nor their sons with their families, are to exact, as has been customary, victuals and hospitality, in lands belonging to the church, or presume any longer to extort them by force. And that those detestable contributions, which are wont to be exacted from lands belonging to the church, four times in the year, by the neighbouring chieftains, are to be exacted no more."—*Giraldus Cambrensis*.—*Hib. Exp.* c. 34.)

The common residents on the *Termon* lands, (as on others in those days,) who occupied and labored them, were according to Archbishop Ussher, of two kinds. The first sort, styled *adscriptitii*, or *adscriptitii glebæ*, i.e., 'tied to the soil,' were in a state of complete servitude; their goods were not their own, but in the power of the lord of the soil; and they themselves were regarded as part of the immoveable property on it, as fruit trees, wells, fishponds, &c. They cultivated the soil partly for the sustenance of their own families, and partly for the benefit of the church. The other occupants, of the second sort, were called, *coloni liberi*, or 'free husbandmen,' i.e., free in comparison with the former class, the *adscriptitii*. For they were very far from being altogether free; seeing that they had not liberty to remove whither they might please, nor to leave the property whereon they were born. They were bound also to labor the soil, and pay rents to its owner. "Thus, in times past," says Ussher, "those who endowed churches and abbeys, bestowed not only bare lands, but lands stocked as it were with certain septs and races, tied there perpetually to perform all services for the behoof and benefit of those to whom they were given."—*Works* by Elrington, xi. 426.)

But beside the *Coarbs*, who were the chief owners of Church lands in Ireland, before the endowment of bishopricks in the Twelfth Century, and the occupants who resided on those lands and labored them, there was connected with them another important class of persons, more numerous than the *Coarbs* or *Corbes*, and of an inferior condition to them, who were known by the name of *Erenachs*, or *Herenachs*, (or according to the Irish spelling of the word, *Airchinneachs*, or *Airchindeachs*,) who have already been partly brought under the reader's notice, but of whom it will be necessary, before going farther, to say somewhat more. What position they held, and what were the duties they performed, subsequently to the settlement of church affairs in Ireland, under the influence of England and Rome in the Twelfth Century, is a subject of which it is easy to give at least a partial account, as Ussher and others after him, have done. But to define exactly, or describe with any particularity, what was the nature of their office, and what their condition, or circumstances, during those earlier ages, which more immediately concern us at present, were a work for the execution of which there exists a much greater deficiency of materials. And although, from what we know of their circumstances, and the duties performed by their order, in those later ages, we may draw some inferences as to the state of the corresponding particulars in the earlier period referred to, still, considering how very much the position of the *Coarbs* in the Irish Church was altered by the events which befel Ireland subsequently to the labors of Gille of Limerick, Malachy O'Morgair, &c., it seems very probable that like changes may have affected the case of the *Erenachs* also.

The earliest occurrence of the word *Airchindeach* in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, is at A.D., 601, where mention is made of Saran Sevierk, "*Airchindeach* of Senboth-Sine," i.e., Erenach of the place now called Templeshanbo, at the foot of Mount Leinster, barony of Scarawalsh, County Wexford. Dr. O'Donovan's note on the word here is as follows:—" *Airchinneach*, i.e., the hereditary warden of the church, usually anglicised Erenagh or Herenagh." Next, the name occurs at A.D.,

* These are the '*Sancti patres*' of the Limavady Jurors. see p. 7. sup.—But '*Sancti patres*' was no Irish appellation.—It was probably a translation of the Irish word for "holy abbots;" *ab.*, signifying father. † See Ussher's *Works*, by Elrington, vol. xi. p. 423.

736, where is given the obit of an *Airchinneach of Inishkeel* Island, off the west coast of Donegal. Again, at A.D. 788, is given that of "Doimhtheach, *airchinneach of Trefoit-mor*," i.e. of Trivet, Co. Meath; and at 789, that of an "airchinneach, of Cloonburren," Co. Roscommon. At A.D., 792, is recorded the death of "Olcovar, son of Flann, *Airchinneach of Inis-Cathaigh*." At 809 [properly, 814,] the Four Masters record the deaths of "Cinaedh, son of Kellach, Bishop and *Airchineach*, of Trillick, (Co. Tyrone,) and "Maelduin, *Bishop and Archinneach of Aughrim*," (Co. Galway.) And once more, at A.D. 834, they have that of "Brasal, son of Cormac, *Archinneach*, i.e., abbot, of Kildua and other churches." Kildua is now called Killglin, (par. of Balfeaghan, Co. Meath.) To these extracts from the Annals, now given, we shall have occasion presently to add a few others, throwing some further light on the office and condition of the ancient *Erenachs* of Ireland. But meanwhile, it will be convenient to dwell a little on what has been written by others on the subject. For simplicity sake, we shall, in any original observations to be made hereafter, or in translating from the Annals, employ the anglicised form, *Erenagh*, of the word under discussion.

The *Erenagh*, says Dr. O'Donovan, as above quoted, was "the hereditary warden of the Church." This hereditary character of the *Erenach's* office is continually presenting itself to one's notice in works on ancient Irish history, as may be exemplified here in a specimen or two. In the Catalogue, for instance, of the "Abbots, &c.," given in the *Ordinance Memoir of Derry*, we find, at pp. 28—30, these notices; "The O'Maighnes were hereditary *erenachs* of Inniskeel, in Donegal, and are still a numerous tribe. They now usually write their name *Mooney*, and *Moyney*." "The family of O'Tornan, or Dornan, still exists. They were *erenachs* of Drumhome, in the county of Donegal, till the plantation of Ulster." "The family of O'Robhartaich, now O'Rafferty and O'Roarty, were *erenachs* and *coarbs* of Tory Island, till the plantation of Ulster, and are still numerous. The MacRoartys, who were *erenachs* of Ballymagrorty, in Tirhugh, county of Donegal, and hereditary keepers of the celebrated relic of Columbkille, called the *cathach*, were probably a branch of the same family." "The family of O'Doighre were also a very noble branch of the Kinel-Owen, and were hereditary *erenachs* of Derry, till the plantation of Ulster. They still exist, and are called Deery." "The O'Firghils [now *Freels*,] a family of the Kinel-Connell, were hereditary *erenachs* of Kilmacrenan, and performed the ceremony of inaugurating the chiefs of Tirconnell." Similar cases, very numerous, may be seen in Dr. Reeves's learned Edition of Primate Colton's *Visitation of Derry*; as at p. 10, where, in his note on Ardstraw, Dr. R. observes that "the family of Ua Forannain were the herenachs of this church in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries." "In the sixteenth century, the Clann M'Killbridy were herenaghs of Raymunterdony, a parish in the county of Donegal," (p. 22. note.) And so, for the parish of Disertegny, "the ancient herenaghes thereof were the Magraddies."—(ib. p. 64. note i.)

The mode of hereditary succession referred to in the extracts here given is not such as is usual in our day, whereby a property descends from father to son, or to some of his children; and goes to others only if the owner be childless; but it was regulated according to what was called the *course of tanistry*. That is to say, during the owner's life-time, a *tanist*, or next successor, to the estate, was selected by the tribe, they choosing such an one as might appear most competent from age and abilities to manage it, or such as might, with abilities considered sufficient for the office, be most acceptable to them on other grounds. In this way, the son of the owner might not succeed to the estate at all; or he might come in after a brother or cousin of his father, or some other person, who had preceded him as *tanist*.

Whether this mode of succession to the *erenach's* office prevailed in all cases from the earliest period of their existence in any particular place, appears not certain, nor easy to be determined. According to the conclusions arrived at in the *Ulster Inquisitions*, already referred to, it did so prevail. They represent, that the land and other property given at first by "Donell McHugh O'Neale" and other temporal lords, to the *Sancti Patres*, or church-founding abbots, of Ireland, were by them assigned to several septs * to dwell upon, and "that the said saintes, or holy men, dedicating themselves onely to praiere and the service of God, did for their better ease, ordaine and constitute several herenaghes to manure and occupie those lands, †" and that "the property was to be held by the tenant, chosen "according to the course of tanistrie, free from all exactions; and that for that cause the land was called *termon* or free, and the tennant thereof some tymes called *corbe*, and sometimes herenagh." But in this statement there is more or less of ignorance and confusion apparent. For the first *coarbs* are in it represented as cotemporaries of the saints whose church lands they respectively came to possess; whereas it is most certain that the *coarbs* were the successors of those saints: and instead of the lands being alienated from the saints, (on whom they were originally bestowed, as an endowment for their churches,) to the *coarbs*, as a distinct corporation, or succession of men, they came to be inherited by the *coarbs* as official successors of the saints who so first possessed them.

But that the *erenaghs* may have been appointed hereditary stewards or managers of the farms belonging to churches, in the manner mentioned in the *Inquisitions*, appear probable enough, and agrees well with any thing we find concerning those bearing the name in the Annals. It is reasonable to suppose, that when the abbot of any church for the time being, derived an income from any farm or farms connected with that church, he would appoint some person to be chief manager of the property thus accruing to him, or more managers than one, where the lands were occupied by different septs, or lay apart from one another, or in other cases, as might be convenient. The superior of a large religious establishment would require such aid, occupied as he would be himself with the charge of all its parts, the congregation under his care, the buildings, the worship, the manuscripts, &c., &c. And as there was (at Armagh, for instance,) an *aconomus*, or house steward, (called by the Irish a *Fertighis*, i.e., a *house-man*, or *house-keeper*,) whose duty in looking after the care of provisions, &c., within doors, would appear to be sufficiently expressed by his name, so would there be needed others, in like manner, to exercise a somewhat analogous office abroad, in connection with the monastic lands, and revenues accruing from them. And as we find in later times the occupancy of the *termon* or church lands shared, actually, between the *coarbs*, and *erenachs* and the septs or families of which they were the heads, and the *coarbs* undoubtedly came by their share as the representatives of the heads of the old religious establishments of Ireland, so it seems highly probable that the *erenachs* were assigned their share in the manner above described, by the original church founders, (*sancti patres*, patron saints, or whatever else we are to call them,) or by the *coarbs* who succeeded them, to occupy those lands by hereditary succession, according to the course of *tanistry*, and cultivate them for their own support, and that of the churches to which they severally belonged.

Admitting, however, as probable, that the office of *erenagh* was thus generally in each case transmitted from one member to another of the same family, according to the sort of succession above explained, and that from the very first, it may still be questioned whether the same thing held good with regard to the *coarbs*, as is implied in the Lymavady *Inquisition* already cited. As far as can be gathered from the testimony of the Annals, this does not appear, at all events, to have been universally the case: although, that it was commonly so, their evidence is sufficient to render probable; and that such a system was believed to have had the sanction of St. Patrick himself, may be concluded from one of the old accounts of his Life preserved in Ireland.

* p. 7, sup. † *Ulster Inquisitions*, Appendix, No. 5.—In this appendix, as well as in the *Survey of the County Fermanagh*, at the commencement of the same Vol. occur numberless illustrations of the hereditary *coarbs* and *erenaghs* of the old Irish people.

To refer to the latter authority first. The *Tripartite Life* of St. Patrick (a work "which," as Dr. Petrie observes, "no writer, however sceptical, has ever ventured to assign to a later period than the tenth century,") mentions, that the Apostle of Ireland, being anxious to found a church at Usney Hill, in Westmeath, and being therein opposed by Fiach and Enda, sons of the famous Niall Naoighiallach, and brothers to King Laoghaire, endeavoured to overcome their opposition by "promising, that if they would permit a church to be erected in honor of God, in that lovely spot, the moderators and rectors of that church should be chosen always from their own descendants," a proposal, which, although not agreed to by the opponents of the saint in this instance, is sufficient to shew, that, among those by whom it was received as true, such an arrangement was not considered unlikely to have his approbation—(Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, Vit. Trip. S.P. Part. ii. c. xvii., p. 131; and Petrie's *Essay on the Round Towers*, &c., of Ireland, pp. 158, 159.)

Had the proposal made by St. Patrick in this case been accepted by the other party, then the successive moderators of the church, (supposing it to have been similar in its constitution to others founded by him elsewhere,) would have been the *hereditary coarbs* of the individual appointed over it by him as its first superior.

As to the indications contained in the *Annals*, that the office of *coarb* or abbot was commonly transmitted in hereditary succession, the study of them to any considerable extent in detail, however interesting it might be to enter on, would lead us into particulars too tedious for insertion here. A few specimens are all that can be given in illustration of the nature of the evidence referred to.

Connected with the Church of *Lusk*, in the County Dublin, the obits of ten abbots are to be found on record in different places of the *Four Masters*, as exhibited, with a few other of the entries connected with the place, in the following catalogue:

- (1.) A.D., 731. "Crunmhael, son of Colga, *abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (2.) A.D., 779, [properly, 784.] "Conall, son of Crunmhael, *abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (3.) A.D., 782, [properly, 787.] "Colga, son of Crunmhael, *abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (4.) A.D., 786, [properly, 791.] "Murray, son of Ængus, *abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (5.) A.D., 791, [properly, 796.] "Moynagh, son of Ængus, *prior* of Lusk, died."
- (6.) A.D., 799, [properly, 804.] "Cormac, son of Conall, *house-steward* of Lusk, died."
- (7.) A.D., 800, [properly, 805.] "Moynagh, son of Colga, *abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (8.) A.D., 838. "Mulroney, son of Cahal, *Vice-abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (9.) A.D., 848. "Rury, *abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (10.) A.D., 851. "Ailill, son of Rovartach, *abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (11.) A.D., 878. "Enacan, son of Rury, *abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (12.) A.D., 887. "Shaughnessy, *abbot* of Lusk," died. [N.B. In the older *Annals of Ulster*, he is called "Shaughnessy, *bishop* of Lusk."]]
- (13.) A.D., 891. "Murray, son of Mulroney, *prior* of Lusk, died."
- (14.) A.D., 902. "Flann, son of Enacan, *abbot* of Lusk, died."
- (15.) A.D., 927. "Toole, son of Enacan, *Bishop* of Duleek and Lusk, and *Steward* of the family of Patrick," died. [N.B.—

'The family of Patrick,' in the style of the old Irish Annalists, means 'the religious congregation of persons, clerical and lay, belonging to the establishment founded by Patrick, at Armagh.' And the 'Steward of the Family of Patrick,' is, according to Dr. O'Donovan, the 'Proctor of Armagh.'—

The many instances of the recurrence of the same name in the above enumeration goes far to prove, that the persons mentioned in it were nearly connected by ties of family relationship, and that the offices available in the Church of Lusk were enjoyed by them in course of hereditary succession. It is indeed more than probable, that the second and third abbots, (2) and (3), in the above list, were sons of the first abbot named in it: that the two next persons, Abbot Murray (4) and Prior Moynagh (5) were brothers; that Cormac, the house steward, was son to Abbot Conall, the second above named; that Moynagh, the fifth Abbot in the list, was son to Colga, the third; that Enacan the eighth abbot (11), was son to Rury, the fifth, (9) above; that the prior Murray (13) was son to the Vice-abbot Mulroney (8); and finally, that Flann, the tenth abbot above, and the bishop Toole, were brothers, and sons to Enacan, the eighth abbot already mentioned.

It may be observed, that of the ten abbots mentioned from A.D. 731, to A.D. 902, the *Four Masters* inform us of the parentage of all, save two, while of six bishops of the place, who lived during the same period, (and are mentioned at the years 835, 873, 880, 902, 904, and 927 respectively,) the parentage of only one is given. This was probably on account of the comparatively small importance and income assigned, among the Irish, to the latter office; which may have been more open to men of merit generally, and less restricted, than the other offices above mentioned, to persons belonging to a particular family.

To take another case. In connection with the Church of Glean-Uissean, (now Killeslin, about two Irish miles west of the town of Carlow,) we find in the *Four Masters* the names of nine abbots, and one *erenach*, which read as follows:—

- A.D., 874. "Dermot, son of Corpsey, *abbot* of Gleann-Uissean, died."
- A.D., 915. "The Archbishop Maelmogue, son of Dermot, *abbot* of Gleann-Uissean," [fell at the battle of Confey, near Leixlip, County Kildare.]
- A.D., 917. "Donnell, son of Dermot, *abbot* of Gleann-Uissean," [died.]
- A.D., 938. "Anvey, son of Donnell, *abbot* of Gleann-Uissean, died."
- A.D., 946. "Casey, son of Donnell, *abbot* of Gleann-Uissean, died."
- A.D., 951. "Felimy, foster-son to Maelmogue, *abbot* of Gleann-Uissean, the sage of Leinster, ...died."
- A.D., 977. "Flann, son of Maelmogue, *erenach* of Gleann-Uissean, died."
- A.D., 986. "Kencorach, son of Anvey, *abbot* of Gleann-Uissean, died."
- A.D., 1016. "Dermot Ua [i.e., *descendant* or *grand-son*, of] Maelmogue, *abbot* of Gleann-Uissean, died."
- A.D., 1045. "Casey Ua Corcraín, *coarb* of Gleann-Uissean, died."

Connected with the Church of Monasterboice, Co. Louth, we have among others, the entries following,—

- A.D., 1056. "Flann Mainistreach, *lector* of Monasterboice, died." [N.B. *Flann Mainistreach* signifies 'Flann of Monaster,' i.e., 'Flann of Monasterboice;' the latter name again signifying, 'the Monastery of St. Boice,' or Boetius.]
- A.D., 1067. "Ahiern, son to Flann Mainistreach, *erenach* of Monasterboice, died."
- A.D., 1117. "Owen Mac Ahiern [or Owen, son of Ahiern,] *coarb* of Boice, died." [N.B. Surnames had come into use about a century before, their origin being attributed, among the Irish, to Brian Boru, A.D., 1000.]
- A.D., 1122. "Fergna Mac Ahiern, [or Fergna, son of Ahiern,] *Coarb* of Boice, a wise priest, died."

The preceding three examples are all that our proposed limits will admit of our introducing, in illustration of the statement already made, that the evidence of the *Annals* goes to render probable the opinion, that the succession to the office of *coarb*, or abbot, as well as to that of *erenach*, was of hereditary character, in many, if not most, instances, from a very early period; or even from the first origin of the several religious establishments concerned in the enquiry. Such examples, did our space permit, might have been largely multiplied; as the reader will be able to observe, who cares to take the trouble of investigating, in the *Annals*, the several succession of ecclesiastics, whose names are on record in connection with the Churches of Kildare, Slane, Ferns, Terryglass, Trivet, Kiltoom, Emly, Clonfert, Lynn, (called in the *Annals*, *Lann-Leire*.) Moville, (Co. Down,) Iona, &c. In the several cases of each of those here named, traces may be observed in the *Annals*, at one period or

another, of the existence of an hereditary succession among its ecclesiastics. That of Kildare, commencing with Abbot Forannan, A.D. 697, is particularly worth notice, the succession there being in the royal family of Leinster, and the connection being traceable in the Annals for some 300 years, to A.D. 965, when "Murray, son of Faelan, *Abbot of Kildare, and Royal Heir of Leinster*, was killed by Amlave, &c." The succession at Slane, also, is well worthy of attention; its hereditary character being traceable in the Annals through a great number of Abbots and Erenachs, from the time of Abbot Colman, A.D. 746, to that of Donnell Ua Cele, who was *Erenach* 300 years after, viz., in A.D. 1053.

The idea of *abbots* transmitting their ecclesiastical estates to their *sons*, and other descendants, after the manner above suggested, may appear perplexing to those who form their notion of the condition and circumstances of such persons, from what they have heard of those bearing a similar name in the Church of Rome, at this day, and during past ages. But any one who is a little acquainted with the sources of our national history, must be familiar with the fact, that however highly esteemed the virgin state may have been among the early Irish Christians, not only was marriage not forbidden to their clergy, but it was actually common enough among them, as is indicated by numberless instances throughout the Annals, both before and after the Anglo-Norman Invasion, where mention is made of the sons of ecclesiastical persons of different grades, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, &c. To illustrate this in one very remarkable case;—Torbach, abbot, or primate, of Armagh, in A.D. 812, was the son of one abbot of Louth, and the father of another abbot of the same place, from whom was descended a race highly distinguished in after ages, as the Annals testify. The connection of this case with the subject of the present memoir, bearing, as it does, on the history of one of our primates, as usually reckoned, appears to justify the inserting of what relates to it somewhat fully in detail; although the extracts from the Annals which this involves, are, when taken together, of a rather lengthy character. They so far illustrate, however, different points of interest to us at present, that it seems hardly necessary to apologise to the reader for their introduction.

Connected then, with the family in question, we have in the Annals of the Four Masters, (besides others,) these entries which follow:—

- A.D. 753, "GORMAN, *Coarb of Mochta of Louth*, died at Clonmacnoise, on his pilgrimage, and he was father to TORBACH, *Coarb of Patrick*."
 A.D. 807, [properly, 812.] "TORBACH, son of GORMAN, *Scribe, Lector, and Abbot of Armagh*, [died.] He was of the Cinel-Torbaigh, [i.e. *Torbach's family, or kindred*,] i.e. the O'Kelly-Breagh race. And of these was Conn-na-mbocht, that was at Clonmacnoise, and received the name of Conn-na-mbocht, [i.e., 'Conn, of the paupers,'] from the number of paupers constantly supplied with food by him."
 A.D., 834. "EGAN, son of TORBACH, *Abbot of Louth*, died on his pilgrimage at Clonmacnoise, OWEN, son to EGAN, remained at Clonmacnoise, and from him are descended the Meic-Cuinn-na-mbocht [family] there." [N.B. *Meic-Cuinn-na-mbocht* signifies, in Irish, 'the sons of 'Conn-of the paupers.' It might be anglicised in the abridged form *Quinn*. The forms *Mac Connemoght*, or more properly, *Mac Cuinn-na-moght*, and *Connemoght*, are also used.]
 A.D. 845. "OWEN, i.e., the anchorite, son to EGAN, son of Torbach, of Clonmacnoise, died."
 A.D. 863. "LUCHAIKEN, i.e., the father of EGERTACH, son to OWEN, son of Egan, son of Torbach, *Scribe and Anchorite* at Clonmacnoise, died."
 A.D. 893. "EGERTACH, *Erenach of the Little Church* [at Clonmacnoise,] father of ENACAN and DONOGHUE, died."
 A.D. 898. "Kencorach of Inisenagh [in Lough Ree] Bishop and Abbot of Louth, tutor to Enacan, son of Egertach, and to Donoghue, son of Egertach, from whom are descended the Connemoght family, died the 23d of July."
 A.D. 947. "ENACAN, son of EGERTACH, *Erenach of the Little Church of Clonmacnoise, Bishop and pure Virgin*, the brother of Donoghue, son of Egertach, of the Morna Moyne [i.e. Cremorne] family, died."
 A.D. 953. "DONOGHUE, son of EGERTACH, *Bishop of Clonmacnoise*," [died.]
 A.D. 1005. "DONOGH, son of DONOGHUE, *Lector of Clonmacnoise*, and its *Anchorite* afterwards, *Head of its Rule and History*, died."
 A.D. 1022. "JOSEPH, son of DONOGH, *Anmchara* [i.e. Soul-friend, or Spiritual Adviser,] of Clonmacnoise, died. He was father to Conn-na-mbocht."
 A.D. 1031. "CONN-NA-MBOCHT, *Head of the Culdees, and Anchorite*, of Clonmacnoise, first invited a party of the poor of Clon, at Iseal-Kiarain [or St. Kiaran's Hospital, at Clonmacnoise,] and presented them with twenty of his own cows for the occasion."
 A.D. 1056. "MAELFINNEN Mac Cuinn-na-moght, the father of CORMAC, *Coarb of Kiaran* [i.e. Abbot of Clonmacnoise,] died, i.e. MAELFINNEN, son of CONN, son of Joseph, son of Donogh, son of Donoghue, son of Egertach, son of Luachan, son of Owen, son of Egan, son of Torbach, son of Gorman, of the O'Kelly Breagh family."
 A.D. 1059. "CONN-NA-MBOCHT, the glory and dignity of Clonmacnoise, died, at an advanced age."
 A.D. 1079. "MAELCHIRAIN MAC CUINN NA-MBOCHT [or M., son of Conn-na-mbocht,] *Coarb of Kiaran*, died. He was the glory and veneration of Clon [i.e. Clonmacnoise,] in his time."
 A.D. 1089. "Iseal Kiarain was purchased for ever by Cormac Mac Cuinn-na-mbocht from Ua Flaihen, and from Donnell, son to Flann Ua Melaghlin, King of Meath."
 A.D. 1097. "Maelan Ua Cuinn [i.e. M., grandson, or descendant of Conn,] *Erenach of the Little Church*, died."
 A.D. 1100. "Magrath Ua Flaihen, *Coarb of Kiaran* and of Cronan of Tomgrany, [Co. Clare,] died on his pilgrimage at Aghaboe. He was of the tribe of Hy-Fiachrach-Fella," [Co. Roscommon.]
 A.D. 1103. "CORMAC MAC CUINN-NA-MBOCHT, *Tanist abbot of Clonmacnoise*, and a prosperous and wealthy man, died."
 A.D. 1104. "The shingles of one-half the Duleek [or, Stone Church,] of Clonmacnoise were finished by Flaherty O'Linchy, it having been commenced by Cormac Mac Cuinn-na-mbocht," ['*Cowarb of St. Keyran*, as he is called in the Annals of Clonmacnoise.]
 A.D. 1109. "Flaherty O'Linchy, *Coarb of Kiaran*, and Great Priest of Clonmacnoise," [died.]
 A.D. 1128. "Gilla-an-choveye [i.e. *Servant of the Deity*] son of Mac Cuinn, who had been *Tanist Abbot of Clonmacnoise* for a time, died, &c."

The preceding extracts present us with a very remarkable succession, unbroken for 350 years, of ecclesiastical persons of one kind or another, who lived in the married state, and reared up children, to fill in after time such places in the Church as they themselves occupied, or others of kindred character. First, we have Gorman, abbot of Louth, father to Torbach, abbot of Armagh, and successor of St. Patrick. 2ndly, Torbach, again, father to Egan, another abbot of Louth. 3. Egan, father to the Anchorite Owen. 4. Owen the Anchorite, father to Luchairen, scribe and anchorite of Clonmacnoise. 5. Luchairen, father to the Erenach Egertach. 6. This Erenach, father to Enacan and Donoghue. 7. Enacan succeeded his father as Erenach, but did not marry, for which reason he is called in the Annals, a "pure Virgin," but his brother Donoghue, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, was father to the Lector Donogh, who became also an Anchorite. 8. Donogh was father to Joseph, *anmchara* or spiritual adviser, at Clonmacnoise. 9. Joseph was father to Conn-na-mbocht, head of the Culdees, (i.e., probably, *Prior*,) of Clonmacnoise, and Anchorite. 10. This Conn was father to Maelfinnen, who appears to have been abbot of the same place. 11. Maelfinnen again was father to Cormac, Abbot, or Tanist-Abbot, there. And, finally, Cormac also appears to have followed the example of his forefathers, in marrying, as we read of Keleher and Maelchiarain, both distinguished men, and sons of Cormac Ua Cuinn-na-mbocht, at A.D. 1134, of the Annals.

Marriage was, therefore, not regarded as in any way disreputable for a clergyman, in Ireland, in those days; seeing that the famous Conn-na-mbocht, "the glory and dignity of Clonmacnoise," although a *Head of Culdees*, was married; and was, also, the Son of a Spiritual Adviser, or Confessor, of Clonmacnoise, the grandson of a Lector, or Divinity Professor, the great grandson of a Bishop, &c., &c.

We may observe that the same person who is called in the first of the above entries *Coarb of Patrick*, is, in the second of them, styled *Abbot of Armagh*. Nor is this the only indication given in them of the identity of the offices of *Coarb* and *Abbot*; for where it is said that the 'Cowarb' Cormac (at A.D. 1104,) occupied himself in completing the roof of the Stone

Church of Clonmacnoise, this represents him as continuing a work, begun by one who is called an Abbot of the place. For at A.D. 924 of the Annals occurs this entry :—

"Colman, son of Ailill, abbot of Clonard and Clonmacnoise, a bishop and wise doctor, died. It was by him that the Duleek [or Stone Church] of Clonmacnoise was built."

Moreover, the entries in the Annals connected with Clonmacnoise illustrate strikingly the transition from the use of one of these names to that of the other. For while mention occurs of "*Abbots of Clonmacnoise*" about 50 times between the years 548 and 952, and only twice after, in the Annals, the style, "*Coarb of Kiaran*," which is first met with at A.D. 952, occurs nearly 30 times in the period between that year and A.D. 1230, the office being the same all through.

That the situation of Coarb, or Abbot, was not in all instances assigned from the beginning to persons belonging to a particular family succession, is indicated by the notices which appear in the Annals relative to the tribes and localities from which the several individuals called successively to fill that high position at Clonmacnoise, derived their origin. Of the earlier abbots, indeed, who lived before the commencement of the Eighth Century, the native places are seldom specified; but from that period onwards, they are generally inserted, and express distinctly enough, that the various abbots, with whose names they are connected, far from belonging to any one tribe or district, were for many ages appointed from a great variety of places, widely apart from one another, in Ireland. So, Abbot Baetan, whose death is noticed at A.D. 663, was from Connemara, in Galway; Abbot Oissene, A.D. 704, from Calry, in the Co. Longford; Abbot Folactach, A.D. 765, from the Co. Kildare; Abbot Foircheallach, A.D. 809, from the barony of Morgallion, Co. Meath.

In the Tenth and following Centuries, however, the situation of Coarb, as well as the other offices of dignity and emolument about Clonmacnoise, appear to have gradually come more and more into the hands of particular families, as far at least as may be gathered from inspection of the names and parentage of those who are stated to have filled such offices; until at length the post of Coarb, here, as in other places, came to be occupied by one race exclusively, inheriting according to the law of Tanistry, from the Twelfth, or probably even from the Eleventh Century. The following catalogue of names, mentioned in the Annals at the dates, and associated with the offices, annexed, will serve to illustrate this statement :—

- A.D. 987. [*properly*, 988.] "Donogh O'Braen, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, a celebrated wise man and anchorite."
A.D. 988. [*properly*, 989.] "Linchy, son of Maelpatrick, Lector of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1005. "Donogh, [grandfather to Conn-na-mbocht,] Lector of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1022. "Joseph, son of Donogh, Annmchara of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1030. "Brasal, of Conaille, Coarb of Kiaran," [i.e., abbot of Clonmacnoise.]
A.D. 1038. "Flaherty Mac [or, son of] Linchy, Bishop and Lector of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1042. "Linchy Ua Flaithen, Coarb of Kiaran and Cronan," [i.e. Abbot of Clonmacnoise and Tomgrany.]
A.D. 1044. "Ailill, son of Brasal, resident priest of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1052. "Ahiern Ua Eaghraín, Coarb of Kiaran of Clonmacnoise and of Comman," [i.e., Abbot of Clonmacnoise and Roscommon.]
A.D. 1056. "Maelfinnen, son of Conn-na-mbocht, Coarb of Kiaran."
A.D. 1059. (and A.D. 1031.) Conn-na-mbocht, Head of the Culdees of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1060. "Ailill Ua Maelchiarain [i.e. 'Ailill, grandson or descendant of Maelchiarain, (now called *Mulhern*),] Erenach of the Little Church, Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1061. "Malcolm Ua Linchy, a learned man and priest of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1067. "Keleher of Morna, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, [of the *O'Kelly Breagh race*.]" Of which was Conn-na-mbocht also. See last page.
A.D. 1070. "Ailill Ua h Airretagh, Ard-Coarb of Kiaran of Clonmacnoise, died. Ailill was of the tribe of Corkaree," [Co. Westmeath.]
A.D. 1079. "Maelchiaran Mac Cuinn na mbocht, Coarb of Kiaran."
A.D. 1088. "Tigernach O'Braein, Ard-Coarb of Kiaran and Coman."
A.D. 1089. "Conor, son of Fogarty Ua Maeldoon, vice abbot of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1093. "Aedh Ua Conghaile, Erenach of the Strangers' Hospital at Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1097. "Maellan Ua Cuinn [i.e. 'M. grandson of Conn,] Erenach of the Little Church" [at Clonmacnoise.]
A.D. 1100. "Magrath Ua Flaithen, Coarb of Kiaran and of Cronan of Tomgrany died. He was of the tribe of Hy-Fiachrach-Fella," [i.e. of Fella, on the west side of Lough Ree, Co. Roscommon,]
A.D. 1103. "Cormac Mac Cuinn-na mbocht, Tanist Abbot of Clonmacnoise,"
A.D. 1104. "Gillachreest Ua Ahiern, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, and Erenach of Ardagh-of-Bishop-Mel."
A.D. 1106. "Murray Ua Maeldoon, Vice Abbot of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1109. "Flaherty Ua Linchy, Coarb of Kiaran, and great priest of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1116. "Conghalach, Erenach of the Strangers' Fort."
A.D. 1127. "Gillachreest O'Malone, abbot, Coarb of Kiaran of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1128. "Kennedy Ua Conghail, Erenach of the strangers' Fort at Clonmacnoise."
— "Gilla-an-Choveye, son of Mac Cuinn, Tanist-abbot of Clonmacnoise for a time, died."
A.D. 1136. "Donnell Ua Duffy, Archbishop of Connaught, and Coarb of Kiaran, died after mass and celebration at Clonfert."
A.D. 1153. "Aedh O Malone, Coarb of Kiaran of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1166. "Keleher Ua Conghaile, Erenach of the Strangers' Hospital at Clonmacnoise, died."
A.D. 1172. "Tighearnach O'Malone, Coarb of Kiaran of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1181. "Maelchiarain O Fiavra, Coarb of Kiaran."
A.D. 1219. "Aedh O Malone, Bishop of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1230. "Mulumry O Malone, Coarb of Kiaran of Clonmacnoise."
A.D. 1263. "Maelchiarain O Malone, abbot of Clonmacnoise."

By the time that we have proceeded thus far in the Annals, the glory of Clonmacnoise as a religious establishment of the old Irish sort has faded; and of coarb or abbot belonging to it, no further mention is made in what follows. Perhaps it was the case, that the coarbs thenceforth were only laymen, holding the lands belonging to their office, according to the course of Tanistry, without ever taking holy orders, and not sufficiently distinguished for any acts of theirs affecting either Church or State, to make it worth while to notice their names in the Annals of their country.

That many persons should come to fill the office of Coarbs in the several Churches of Ireland, without taking Holy Orders on them, was a very natural result of the dreadful confusion caused in the country by the atrocious wars of the Danes, during the Ninth and following Centuries. In those days the ordinary avocations of an abbot, such as they might be in more peaceful times, gave place, of necessity, to the engrossing thought of preparations for military defence, and for protecting, from outrage and ruin, the persons and property belonging to his Church. And even when they were devoted to pillage, and fire, and the sword, the land still remained, for some claimant, who by right or might would establish his title to it, according to the law of Tanistry, or otherwise, as the case might be. This new possessor might be one (especially considering the times and circumstances in which he had received his education,) whom every idea of propriety would suggest to be unadapted for admission to the sacred functions of the ministry. But still, as holder of the lands, and so far successor to the race of abbots that had flourished in the place, he would bear the name of *Coarb*: and besides taking upon him to exercise all secular acts and privileges connected with the title, it seems exceedingly likely, that, in the absence of a more duly constituted officer, he would not be slow to perform some of the more strictly spiritual rites usually celebrated by ordained persons; just as, at this day, if by any casualty a professedly Christian community were cut off from intercourse with duly ordained pastors, it were

natural to expect that they would employ the offices of a lay substitute for some of those purposes, (as their leader in prayer, &c.,) which, under other circumstances, would be fulfilled for them by their clerical superintendent.

And that the Churches of Ireland did actually, in many cases, come into the possession of lay abbots, is testified in what Giraldus Cambrensis writes of the Church of St. Paternus, or Llan-Padern-Vaur, in Wales, that "it, like many others in Ireland and Wales, hath a lay-abbot. For it hath become a customary and mischievous usage, for men of influence in a parish, who might first be constituted, by the clergy, stewards, as it were, or rather patrons and defenders of the Churches, afterwards, in process of time, as their grasping disposition increased, to seize on the whole rights for themselves, and appropriate, in a shameless way, to their own use, the entire of the lands and out-door property; leaving to the clergy the bare altars, with the the tithes and oblations, and assigning even these to their own children and other relatives."

That this took place even at Armagh, and that eight successive *Coarbs of Patrick*, there, were unordained men, previously to Kellach, (called by some S. Celsus,) who became Coarb or Abbot in A.D. 1105, is notorious from the testimony of the great St. Bernard; who, in a striking passage of his Life of St. Malachy, exclaims loudly against such an abuse. His words are these;—"There had been introduced, by the diabolical ambition of certain people of noble rank, a scandalous usage, whereby the holy see [i.e. Armagh,] came to be obtained by hereditary succession. For they would allow no person to be promoted to the bishopric, excepting such as were of their own tribe and family. Nor was it for any short period that this execrable succession had continued, nearly fifteen generations having been already exhausted in this course of iniquity. And so firmly had this wicked and adulterous generation established their unholy right, (or wrong, rather, that deserved to be punished with any sort of death,) that although on some occasions clergymen of their blood were not to be found among them, yet bishops they never were without. In fine, there had already been, before the time of Celsus, eight individuals who were married, and without orders, yet still men of education." (*Vit. Mal. cap. x.*)

The Irish Annals, in mentioning those married Coarbs who proceeded Celsus, affix no mark of censure to their characters, and do not even state the circumstance of their having been unordained. Yet still they appear to confirm Bernard's account, by their peculiar way of mentioning Kellach's appointment to the primacy; thus, (at A.D. 1105,) "Kellach, son of Aedh, son of Maelisa, was appointed to the Coarbship of Patrick by the election of the men of Ireland. And he received orders on the day of Adamnan's festival." Why mention the latter circumstance in his case only, and in that of no Coarb before or after unless that there was somewhat remarkable in his taking them? It certainly looks very like as if the custom of entering into holy orders had been disused by preceding Coarbs, as Bernard intimates.

And if so, it was not unnatural, perhaps, that all mention of this neglect should have been omitted in the Irish Annals; as the family so denounced by Bernard, for their violation of the Canonical order of the Church's discipline, were popular and influential in Ireland; and it might have been considered not respectful to them to notice their deficiencies in the native Annals. Bernard, by the way, seems to have known very little of the state of Church affairs in Ireland, notwithstanding all his intercourse with Malachy; as he was altogether unacquainted, apparently, with the extent to which the law of hereditary succession was acted on in the other ecclesiastical foundations of the country, as well as at Armagh.

That the Mac Cuinn-na-mbochts became hereditary *erenachs* of Clonmacnoise, is stated by Dr. O'Donovan in different places, in his notes to the Annals. At A.D. 610, for instance, he speaks of "the family of Mac Gorman, otherwise called Mac Cuinn-na-mbocht, *Erenachs* of Clonmacnoise in the Kings County." (*Note r.*) But it may be observed, that in the entries above given in connection with Clonmacnoise, various different offices and officers of this kind are mentioned; as "the Coarbs of Kiaran," "the *Erenachs* of the Little Church," and the "*Erenachs* of the Strangers Fort," or "Hospital." The "*Erenachs* of the Little Church" appear to have been of the Mac Cuinn-na-mbocht family, certainly, those of them who are sufficiently identified in the Annals having clearly belonged to it. But whether the *Ua Conghaile's*, who were '*Erenachs* of the Strangers Hospital' there, were a branch of the same, I cannot say. The Mac Cuinn-na-mbocht family appear also as "Coarbs of Kiaran" in several instances, from A.D. 1056 onwards, until AD. 1127; after which the coarbs are generally of the O'Malone race. But the O'Malones, as far as one may judge from the recurrence of the same Christian names among them, (Gillachrist, Maelchiarain, Maelmuire, &c.,) and from the time of their first commencing to be distinguished in the Annals, would seem to have been but a branch of the Mac Cuinn family. So late as at A.D. 1461, we have the entry, "*The Dean O'Malone*, one distinguished for learning throughout all Ireland, died at Clonmacnoise."

The meagre notices which occur in the Annals are ill adapted to give us any satisfactory information relative to the nature of the *Erenach's* office. From the entries which follow, somewhat, however, may be gleaned concerning the position which they (as well as the Coarbs) held in the country, and in its Church, and the degree of consequence attached to their official character:—

A.D. 809. "Kineth, son of Kellach, *Bishop and Erenach* of Trillick, [Co. Tyrone, and] Muldoon, *Bishop and Erenach* of Anghrim, died."

A.D. 834. "Brasal, son of Cormac, *Erenach, i.e. Abbot*, of Kildua and other Churches, died." [Kildua is now called Killglinn, parish of Balfeghan, Co. Meath. From the 4 M. explaining *Erenach* by *Abbot* in this place, it would seem the two offices were sometimes identical, or at least united in one person. So at A.D. 788, Doiveach, called by the 4 M., '*Erenach* of Trivet' is in the *Annals* of Ulster named '*Princeps Treoit*,' i.e. *Superior* or *Abbot* of Trivet.*]

A.D. 947. "Enacan, son of Egertach, *Erenach* of the Little Church at Clonmacnoise, *Bishop*, and pure Virgin...died."

A.D. 948. "Flann Ua Anaile, *Erenach* of Glandalough, *Head* of the dignity of the province, died. Rehawry, son of Moynagh, *Chief-priest* of Clonmacnoise, *Erenach* of Emlagh-Fia [Co. Meath] died."

A.D. 961. "Cosgry, son of Donnagan, *distinguished Bishop and Erenach* of Innishkeen [Co. Monaghan] died."

A.D. 964. "Cormac Ua Cillene, *Coarb* of Kiaran, a *bishop* and wise man, of great age, died. Dudavoirean, *distinguished Bishop* of Moy-Breagh, and *Coarb* of Boice, died."

A.D. 969. "Toole, *Coarb* of Kiarne, *bishop* and *abbot* of Clonmacnoise, died."

A.D. 977. [properly, 979.] "Flann, son of Maelmihel, *Lector* of Clonmacnoise, *Bishop and Erenach* of Clon-deochra [Co. Longford] died."

A.D. 1000. "Maelpoil, *Bishop* of Clonmacnoise and *Coarb* of Feichin, died."

A.D. 1003. "Hoey O'Flanagan, *Erenach* of the Strangers' Fort, at Armagh, and of Clonfeacle, distinguished among the Irish for history, died."

A.D. 1021. "Moynagh, *priest and Erenach* of Lann Leire, [i.e. Lynn] died."

A.D. 1024. "Fachtna, *Lector and Priest* of Clonmacnoise, *Erenach* of Fennor-ava, *Erenach* of Inneinen [Co. Meath, and] *Abbot* of the Irish, died at Rome, after having gone thither on pilgrimage."

A.D. 1036. "Kellach, (i.e. *Bishop*) Ua Shelley, *Coarb* of Barry [i.e. Abbot of Cork], a learned senior of Munster, died."

A.D. 1039. "Maicnia, *Bishop and Coarb* of Monasterboice, died."

A.D. 1041. "Cyrus, *Lector and Erenach* of Tory [Island, Co. Donegal,] died."

A.D. 1042. "Eohagan, *Erenach* of Slane, *Lector* of Swords, and a *choice Scribe*, died."

A.D. 1050. "Conell, *Erenach* of Kilmallock [Co. Limerick,] and who had been at first *Lector* there, died."

A.D. 1052. "Arthur, son of Murray, *Erenach* of Clonmogue, [now Clonmore, Co. Carlow,] the glory of Leinster," [died.]

* The *Annals* of Ulster, at A.D. 881, have the following entry, "Scannlan, *Princeps* of Dunlethglas, [i.e. Downpatrick,] was strangled by the Ulidians," where Dr. Reeves translates *Princeps* by '*Superior*,' adding this note: "The word *Princeps* is frequently met with in the sense of *Abbot* or *Superior*. The parallel passage of the Four Masters (at 879) has the synonym *abb.*, '*abbot*.' Sometimes also the word *airchindach*, from which comes *Herenach*, is used in the same sense. See Spelman's Glossary under *Cerbs*; and Colgan, *Trias Th.*, pp. 292, 293." Antiquities of Down, &c., p. 145.

- A.D. 1055. "Owar Ua Murray, Erenach of Lusk, and Chief of Hy-Colgain, died."
 A.D. 1059. "Conaing Ua Farally [or O Farally, 'Ua' and 'O' being identical in signification] Erenach of Drumlane, Coarb of Moedog in Connaught and Leinster, [i.e. Abbot of Drumlane, Co. Cavan, (then a part of Connaught,) and of Ferns, Co. Wexford,] died."
 A.D. 1104. "Gilla-Chreest Ua Ahern, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, and Erenagh of Ardagh of Bishop Mel, died."
 A.D. 1108. "Aedh, son of Dudalehe, intended Coarb of Patrick, Vice-Erenach of Armagh, died." [N.B. The word *awar*, which Dr. O'Donovan here translates, 'intended,' (e.g. *awar cowarba*, 'intended Successor,') means 'properly,' 'a material for,' 'the makings of,' as we say familiarly, i.e. one of those who, had he survived, and not been otherwise disqualified, might have become primate in his turn.]
 A.D. 1137. "A change of Abbots at Armagh, viz., the Erenach of Derry substituted for Niall, son of Aedh." [and so, made Primate.]
 A.D. 1140. "Donnell Ua Shelley, Erenach of Cork, pillar of the glory and splendour of Munster, died."
 A.D. 1150. "Melisa Ua Branain, Erenach of Derry-Columkille, Head of the happiness and prosperity of the North of Ireland, died."
 A.D. 1155. "Mulmurry Mac Giollachiarain [or, Mulmurry Mac Elheron,] Erenach of the Fort of the Strangers of Christ at Armagh, a venerable cleric, entertainer of the people of Ireland, laity and clergy, died."
 A.D. 1158. "The Brehon [i.e. Judge] Ua Duilennan, Erenach of Easdaire [i.e. Ballysadare, Co. Sligo.] Professor of Law, and Chief of his territory, died."
 A.D. 1181. "Ivar Ua Hanratty, Erenach of Mucknoe, i.e. Castleblaney parish, Co. Monaghan] and [who had been] Lord of Omeath for a time, died."

These extracts include all such passages of the Four Masters, as appear adapted for throwing any light on the position occupied among the Irish by their Erenachs, during the period preceding the Anglo Norman-Invasion. A few are added relating to the Coarbs, which are also of use for our present inquiry. If the adducing of so many of these extracts appear in any degree tedious, it must be borne in mind that the subject which they are designed to elucidate, is not only obscure in itself, but has been, further, most industriously beclouded by some of those who were entrusted with a share in the investigation of it at the commencement of the 17th Century; so that, to help to a better understanding of it, we have need to collect all the rays of light which are available. Their value for our purpose will be better understood by and by. As we advance through the remaining portion of the Annals, the notices which occur in them of Coarbs and Erenachs are not much better adapted than those of an earlier date, to enlighten us concerning their duties or privileges, they being not very numerous, nor in other respects very interesting. The most striking of them, however, it may be as well to subjoin here, in connection with those which precede:—

- A.D. 1199. "Melisa son of Gilla Ernán, Erenach of Kilmore O Neilland, [now Kilmore, Co. Armagh,] and intended Coarb of Patrick, died."
 A.D. 1204. "Sitric O Siurithen, Erenach of Conwall [Co. Donegal,] Head of the Hy-Muirtele, and Chief man of all the Clann Snedhgile [Clanally district, west of Letterkenny, same Co.] for his worth, died after choice penitence, and was interred in the Church which himself had founded."
 A.D. 1333. "Florence Mac an Oglaiigh, Archdeacon of Killery [now a parish in the barony of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo.] died."
 A.D. 1362. "Aongus Mac an Oglaiigh, Erenagh of Killery, died."
 A.D. 1365. "Páidín Ua Conghaile, Parson and Erenagh of Rossory, [in Fermanagh,] died."
 A.D. 1368. "Murray O Farrally, Coarb of Maidog, [i.e. Abbot of Drumlane, near Belturbet, Co. Cavan,] and Archdeacon of Breifny [i.e. Kilmore, Co. Cavan,] died, after victory over the world and the devil."
 A.D. 1369. "William O Farally, Coarb of Maidog and Archdeacon of Breifny, died."
 A.D. 1384. "John Mac Gilla Coisgile, a Master, Erenagh, and Parson of Derrybrusk, [in the barony of Tirkennedy, Co. Fermanagh,] died." [The name of this Erenagh is now anglicised to Cosgrove, as Dr. O'Donovan remarks, by some inheritors of it, resident at Clones, Co. Monaghan.]
 A.D. 1390. "Niall O Talchlich, Canon Chorister [qu. Vicar Choral?] of Clogher, and Coarb of Devenish, died."
 A.D. 1394. "Gilladowney O Howen, Official [or, Rural Dean] of Lough Erne, and Parson and Erenach of Inniskeen [in said Lough] died."
 A.D. 1411. "Conor O Casey, Erenach of the lands of Munter Casey, [i.e. the Casey tribe, or family,] and John Mac Scoiloige, [or John Farmer,] Erenach of his own lands at Rosorry [in Fermanagh,] died."
 A.D. 1420. "Matthew O Brannain, Master, Parson and Erenagh of Derryvullan, [parish, on the west of Lough Erne, Co. Fermanagh,] died."
 A.D. 1423. "Maurice, (son of Matthew, &c.,) Maguire, Archdeacon of Clogher, Parson of Aghalurcher, and Lord of Cleenish and Rossory, died."
 A.D. 1428. "Robert, Coarb of Caillin, died," [i.e. says Dr. O'Donovan, Robert O Roddy, lay Coarb of Fenagh, Co. Leitrim, founded by St. Caillin in the Sixth Century.]
 A.D. 1440. "Magrath (Matthew, son of Marcus,) Coarb of Termon Daveog, died, and John Boy was elected in his stead." ['Magrath,' says Dr. O'Donovan, 'was the Coarb or lay Incumbent of this Termon, and had a Castle of considerable importance, the ruins of which are still to be seen in tolerable preservation, on the northern margin of Lough Erne.' Termon Daveog is now called Termon-Magrath, parish of Temple Carn, Donegal.]
 A.D. 1441. "Murtagh, son of Cahal Mor Mac Manus Archdeacon of Clogher, and Parson of Derryvullan, a choice cleric, died." "Pierce Cam O Luinin, a learned historian and poet, Erenagh of Ard, and of the Third of Derryvullan, a man greatly revered and honored, died." [Ard is now the name of a townland in Derryvullan. In the survey of Fermanagh, made in the 1st year of James I, it is stated that 'The parish Church of Derryvullan hath Six Quarters of Land. It is possessed by O Bristlan, O'Cannann, and Muintir Loonyne, as Corbes.']
 A.D. 1485. "Donogh Mac Coilidh, Erenach of Bearach, who kept a house of general hospitality, died." [Under the same year occurs notice of 'Gilla Patrick O Higgin,' who did the same thing, as did many others in those days, both of Coarbs and Erenachs, and of such as were but private persons also.]
 A.D. 1486. "Philip, son of the Coarb (i.e. James, son of Rory, &c.,) Mac Mahon, a Canon Chorister at Clogher, Coarb of Clones, Parson of Dartry, &c., died."
 A.D. 1487. "Denis Mac Giolla Coisgile, Erenagh and Vicar of Derrybrusk, died."
 A.D. 1495. "John (son of Pierce, &c.,) Maguire, Parson of Derryvullan, and Erenagh of Cleenish, who kept a house of general hospitality, died."
 A.D. 1499. "John (son of Rossa, &c.,) Maguire who had been a Canon Chorister in Clogher, Parson and Erenagh in Aghaurcher, a wise man, and learned in Latin and Irish, and who kept a house of general hospitality for all that needed it, died."
 A.D. 1556. "Gilla Columb O Clabby, Coarb of Patrick at Oran of Moy Aoi, [Co. Roscommon,] Head of the hospitality and affluence of the Coarbs of Connaught, general entertainer of high and low, died in Clanricard, after having been banished from Oran, and after his son Dermot Roe O Clabby had been slain by the Clan Conway."

Such being the amount of information supplied us relative to the position in society, duties, and other circumstances of the Coarbs and Erenachs, in the most recent and voluminous portion of the Annals, we need not wonder if the subject was one which became involved in much uncertainty and obscurity, no other ancient books appearing to be more likely to supply such information. Still, these notices, meagre though they be, appear, when taken in connection with what precedes, and such other trustworthy evidence as we can refer to, to furnish the securest ground on which to establish a true system of understanding the historical particulars involved, and the most unbiassed testimony concerning the topics now under examination.

There is, however, one document relating to the end of the Fourteenth Century, which supplies us with some curious and interesting information concerning the offices performed by the Erenachs in that age, and which may properly be mentioned next, in connection with what just precedes. This is the record of the *Acts of Archbishop Colton in his Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese of Derry*, preserved in the Registry of Armagh, and which has been published, with much learned matter accompanying, for its elucidation, by the Rev. William Reeves, D.D. From it we gather the particulars which follow, connected with our present subject.

On Monday, October the 8th, 1397, Primate Colton, leaving the village of Termonmaguirk, in the Diocese of Armagh, (and Co. Tyrone,) proceeded, on his journey towards Derry, across Mullaghcarn mountain, as far as to Cappagh; where stopping

to rest awhile, he summoned before him the person who was both *vicar and erenach* of the place, and who had recently received a charter of the *erenachie* from the Primate himself, who as Metropolitan of the Province, exercised the right of granting it, in consequence of the vacancy of the see of Derry at the time. Having made enquiry of this vicar whether the place in which he then was, were included in the diocese of Derry, and being informed, in reply, that it was, the Primate proceeded to give notice, in a solemn and formal manner, that he had come to visit the diocese, for the purpose of exercising all manner of episcopal jurisdiction in it, such being his privilege during the vacancy of the see, according to a right "legitimately and invariably observed from time immemorial," * as belonging to his predecessors in the Primacy of Armagh, as it now did to himself. "Then," in the words of the Record,

"The Lord Archbishop aforesaid gave orders to the said Vicar and Erenach of Cappagh, that inasmuch as the village of Cappagh was not built on a scale adapted for the reception and entertainment of the said Lord Primate and his retinue, with their vehicles, and the said Lord Primate therefore purposed leaving that village, and proceeding on the same night to the Church of Ardstraw, [i.e. at Newtownstewart,] that the said Vicar and Erenach should cause a supply of beef for the kitchen of the said Archbishop and Primate, for that coming night, to be brought to Ardstraw, at the common expense of the residents belonging to the Church and Village of Cappagh aforesaid, as the residents belonging to the said Church, and those of other Churches of the said Diocese, had been in the habit of doing, and were by prescribed usage bound to do, for the use and procuration of the Bishops of Derry, when journeying through their diocese, [and also for the predecessors of] the said Arc[h]bishop. †] And the said Vicar and Erenach, in obedience to the commands of the said Lord Primate, having returned to the said Church of Cappagh, followed speedily after the said Lord Archbishop, and [brought] with him one fat ox for the use and supper of the said Lord Archbishop and his retinue, and delivered it to the attendants of the said Lord Archbishop.

"At length, upon arriving, with his retinue, at the village of Ardstraw, the said Lord Archbishop, having called before him the Vicar and Erenachs belonging thereto, gave them his orders to make speedy provision for the necessities required for his men and horses, and for a sufficient watch to guard the person, goods, and chattels, of the said Archbishop and his retinue. And they, obediently attending to his orders, caused a supply of bread, butter, milk, and flesh-meat, fuel, straw, and corn for the horses, to be furnished, and brought to each of the houses wherein the men and horses of the said Lord Archbishop were lodged, according to the number of men and horses lodged in those houses, at the common expenses of the Erenachs and residents of the said village. And they very diligently set watches of men through different parts of the said village, and particularly about the house wherein the said Lord Archbishop was lodged."

Next day, Tuesday, October the 9th, "at the earnest request of Laurence O'Boyle, the Vicar, and the Erenachs and parishioners of the church of Ardstraw," the Primate went through the ceremony of "reconciling" their cemetery, which had been polluted by bloodshed, "according to the form provided in the [Roman] Pontifical;" first reciting certain prayers outside, and "then going into the church, saying a Litany, and blessing salt, ashes, water, and wine, with which he afterwards sprinkled the said cemetery." This done, he next pursued his way to the Church of Urney, in the same diocese, "provided with certain horses, to the number of seven, or thereabouts," which were supplied him, free of cost, by the Erenachs and residents at Ardstraw, for bringing on his victuals and other baggage to the end of the next stage of his progress. Arrived at it, he immediately summoned before him Donat, or Donogh, O'Carolan, rector, and the Erenachs and residents of the village of Urney, and gave them similar orders to those which he had issued at Cappagh; which were here also met by an equally prompt acquiescence on the part of those to whom they were in this new instance addressed.

On the following morning, Wednesday, October the 10th, the Primate again proceeded on his journey, to Leckpatrick, once more provided by the Erenachs of Urney, with horses, to the number of "seven, or thereabouts," for carrying his victuals and carriage, at the common expense of the Erenachs and residents connected with the Church of Urney." Having thus arrived at Leckpatrick, there, we are informed that "the Erenachs and residents belonging to the said town and village, as their horses were at that time scattered in the fields, and the aforesaid Father could not conveniently wait until they should be brought in, promised, and found sureties to pay the Erenachs and residents of Urney a certain sum agreed on between them, for bringing the victuals and carriage of the said Lord Primate to the city of Derry. Whereupon the said venerable Father proceeded with his retinue and carriage towards Derry, and having crossed the river in boats, directed his way to the city;" where he was reverently received by the Dean, William M'Cawell, (or Campbell,) and a large number besides of the clergy and laity of the place, and provided with lodgings and all other things needful for himself and his train, including, as on former occasions, a guard for their protection at night.

On Saturday, October 13th, 1397, the Primate held his visitation in the choir of the Cathedral Church of Derry, the Dean, at the commencement, certifying that he had executed the mandate sent him for citing before their Metropolitan "the Archdeacon, and the rest, all and singular, of the Chapter of Derry, as also all persons of the clergy of Derry whatsoever, enjoying promotion to dignities, or ecclesiastical benefices, or holy orders, as also all *Erenachs* and officers whatsoever, of the bishopric of Derry, to appear before the said Lord Primate and Custodee, in the Cathedral Church of Derry aforesaid, on the said 13th of October, and exhibit their letters of dignities, benefices, orders, and dispensations, as also their deeds or letters of *erenachies*, lands, possessions, and offices, whatsoever." And, accordingly, a large attendance of the clergy, "beneficed and non-beneficed, presbyters, and also *erenachs*, made their personal appearance, in obedience to the crier's call, and exhibited their different letters of orders and benefices, and deeds of *erenachies*, lands, and offices."

There is no need that we should pursue any further, here, the account of Primate Colton's remaining proceedings on the occasion of his visit to Derry, as they do not throw any additional light on the nature of the *Erenach's* office. It is evident from the portions of the record already adduced, that at the time to which they refer, a change of great importance had passed over the Irish Church, since the days when it recognised not the metropolitan's dignity, and was not even subject to the exercise of any diocesan episcopal jurisdiction. Before proceeding further, it will perhaps help to a better understanding of the subject, if we retrace our steps a little, and briefly contemplate here, what was the condition of the persons and property chiefly affected by this change, before it occurred, and in what manner it appears to have been brought about.

In the old Irish Church before the Twelfth Century, there were, then, no dioceses, no parishes, and by consequence no diocesan nor parish officers. Deans, chapters, archdeacons, rural deans, rectors, parsons, officials, are matters unknown, name or thing, in the part of the Annals preceding the date of the coming of the English. Nor is the assessment of tithes of much more respectable antiquity, the first occurrence of the name in the Annals, (in the account of the Synod of Kells) at A.D. 1152, appearing to mark the time when any active measures began to be adopted for their enforcement; nor was it until the act introduced for the purpose at the Synod of Cashel, by the authority of Henry II. (co-operating with Pope Alexander III. in A.D. 1172,) that the institution of Tithes, as a matter of general obligation, could be regarded as placed on a solid or permanent basis in Ireland. The statement of the late Dr. Doyle, that "until that period, tithes were almost unknown in this country," appears to be strictly true, and only in agreement with the testimony of all competent authorities on the subject. ‡

* The *Coarbs of Patrick*, of whom Primate Colton was in his day the representative, had enjoyed the right of levying contributions throughout Ireland for their Church, from the middle of the Eighth Century; and the *Coarbs of Columkille* in Derry, a similar right, through a more limited district of the country, from the same period, apparently. But no *Bishops of Derry*, in the usual sense, could have enjoyed such a privilege before A.D. 1279, when their succession in a regular form first commenced. † The original is here a little imperfect, and the words in brackets effaced, through age. ‡ See the *Case of the Church of Ireland* stated in a letter to the Marquis of Wellesley, in reply to J. K. L., by Declan, Millikens, Dublin, 1824, p. 12. O'Connor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, Tom. III. pp. 770, 774. *Io. Bromton, ad an. 1171, &c., &c.*

The whole property of the Church, besides its buildings, &c., consisted of endowments of land, and what was given to it in the way of voluntary offerings. Of these latter, the principal were the tributes paid to the Coarbs of Patrick in Armagh, and those of Columbkille in Derry, for the maintenance of their respective Churches.

Before the Twelfth Century, the bishops had no church lands. All were in the hands of the *Coarbs* and *Erenachs*, and had been held by them and their predecessors from the very first, though not as their own, but in trust for the Church. The exclusive right to such trusteeship would seem to have belonged in many cases to particular families, by the original act of endowment; and in other cases, where it was not so of right, it came to be usurped by families who had influence sufficient for the purpose. The Coarbs, as we have seen, were nothing else, originally, than the regularly appointed successors of the more eminent founders of Churches in Ireland. They were at the first mostly presbyter abbots, and in many cases bishops; but in the Tenth and following Centuries, the practice of omitting to take holy orders began to prevail more and more generally among them, until at the time of the Reformation they came to be all, apparently, but mere laymen.

The Erenach was a person subordinate, at least in the more important religious establishments of Ireland, to the Coarb; and although the origin of his office and the nature of his duties are less clearly traceable in the Annals than the Coarb's, yet it seems, on the whole, sufficiently apparent, as already stated, that they were a good deal connected with the out-door secular concerns of the establishment, and particularly the care of the monastic lands and other property belonging to them. For the Erenachs had such control over a part of those lands, as to be able to share the spoils of them with the coarbs, and secure a private family interest in them, when they were diverted from their original purpose, and ceased to be regarded as monastic possessions. The Erenachs combined in themselves, as it would seem, more or less of the characters belonging to stewards of the land, and bursars or treasurers of other ecclesiastical property. They were also, like the Coarbs, originally clergymen, at least ordinarily; as we have seen in many instances already, where they were not only priests, but bishops also; but they too in process of time, declined entering the clerical state, and became in the end, as the others, mere laymen. The office was even held occasionally by women. Thus, at A.D. 1134 of the Four Masters, we have the entry, "Bevin, daughter of Mac Couchaille, *female Erenach* of Derry, died on the 23d of Deceraber." But this is not to be wondered at, seeing that there were also *abbesses*, and *female coarbs*, i.e. coarbs of female saints, established at various places in Ireland in those days.

The Coarb might apparently have more than one Erenach connected with his establishment. Where it was possessed of different farms of land lying apart from one another, each of them, if very extensive, might require the superintendence of such an officer. And where the office was held hereditarily, as in the course of time, it came generally to be, the principal tenant of each farm would naturally be the occupant of it, at least when the establishment, under the degrading influence of wars, came to be more of a corporation possessing land, than of a strictly religious or ecclesiastical association. Where the establishment was small, and had not derived its origin from any very eminent founder; the head was not usually (at least in the earlier ages, preceding the Twelfth Century) called a coarb, but an abbot; and he might possibly not have under him any Erenach, but discharge the duties of the Erenach himself, and be called, according to circumstances, by either name. Such appears to have been the case of Brasal (already cited at p. 23 sup.) whom the Annals describe at A.D. 834 as "*Erenach* i.e. *Abbot*, of Kildua and other Churches."

Some of the old Irish Churches might appear to have had no such officer as an Erenach, some, that is, even of the most famous among them. In connection with Clonfert, for instance, we have, between A.D. 620 and A.D. 980, abbots mentioned in about twenty places, and coarbs of Brendan mentioned about seven times, between A.D. 991 and 1166, as well as bishops in twenty places or more, commencing with A.D. 525, but no erenach. So, in the case of Clonard, we have abbots noticed in 30 places from A.D. 548 to 952, coarbs of Finian in more than twenty, from A.D. 857 onwards, and no erenach, and so also in other cases. Perhaps, however, it may have been, that the erenachs in those places were less distinguished men, whose names it was not thought necessary to insert in the public records, or that less importance may have been attached to the office in those instances. In the case of some other churches, in connection with that which several abbots, or coarbs, are named in the Annals, mention is made of a single erenach at some date, or of two, or three, at different years, as the case may be. Thus in the case of Roscommon, for instance, we have abbots mentioned in some nine places between A.D. 774 and 979, and Coarbs of Coman, from A.D. 951 to 1444, in twice as many, and no erenach of the place noticed, save in one instance, viz., under A.D. 835; and at Roscrea, we have abbots named in about 13 places, from A.D. 800 to 1011, and Coarbs of Cronan eight times, between A.D. 1033 and 1173, and erenachs only twice, viz., at 1127 and 1134. Yet, as we have Lectors of Roscommon mentioned only twice in the Annals, and a Lector of Roscrea only once, and still, that was an office which must, (it would seem) have been permanently maintained in those two places, the circumstance that the erenachs of any particular church are nowhere noticed in the Annals is not any sufficient proof, that in connection with said church such office did not exist. In connection with each of these last establishments, but one name of a bishop is on record, and the one connected with Roscommon was abbot also, which may have been the reason why he was thought worthy of a notice; but this will not suffice to prove, that in two places of such note, there did not flourish a large number of bishops, whose names have not been placed on record. So too of the Erenach's office, in those as well as in other instances.

The land inherited by a Coarb from the patron Saint who founded the Church, (which, as we have seen, was called his *Termon*.) was regarded as having the *privilege of Sanctuary*; so that persons fleeing for refuge to it, from assailants, were considered to be under the protection of that Saint, and not to be molested without dishonour to him, and to God, somewhat after the manner of the Israelites in regard to their cities of refuge. The *termon* lands were considered entitled to other immunities also; but their privileges were very often violated, and the property on them subject to various outrages from the disorderly chieftains of Ireland and their followers, to restrain whose proceedings was passed the Cashel enactment already cited at p. 18 sup. Nor had the aggressors, who dared so to violate the privileges of the *termon* lands, been able, even before the introduction of that enactment, to escape in all instances without retaliation, from the monastic bodies, or "families," as they were called, connected with those *termions*; who could, on the contrary, find means for reducing even kings to terms of submission and restitution. So, at A.D. 806, of the Annals, we read of the famous fair of Tailtin, (i.e. Teltown, Co. Meath.) and its pastimes, although under the protection of royal patronage, being interrupted and postponed by the influence of the monks of Tallaght, (Co. Dublin,) on an occasion of this kind, until the chief monarch of the day had satisfied their demands; thus:—

"A.D. 806. "The prevention of the fair of Tailtin, on Saturday, so that neither horse nor chariot was run, by Aedh, son of Niall: i.e. the family of Tallaght prevented it, in consequence of the violation of the Termon of Tallaght of Melruan, by the Hy-Neill, [or Meath-men:] Aedh Oirnidhe [i.e. the chief monarch,] afterwards gave the family of Tallaght their full demand, and many gifts beside."

Frequently, in such cases, the vengeance of the Patron Saint was considered to overtake the aggressor, as in the instance noticed in the following entries:—

A.D. 832. "A great number of the family of Clonmacnoise were slain by Felim, son of Crivhan, King of Cashel, and all their *Termon* was burned by him, to the Church-door. In like manner treated he the family of Durrow, also, to their Church door."

A.D. 844. "The ravaging of the Termon of St. Kieran by Felim, son of Crivhan.—But Kieran pursued him, as he thought, and gave him a thrust of his staff, so that he received a wound in his middle, from which he recovered not until he died."

Yet this same sacrilegious prince had, in 822, assisted Artri, 'bishop of Armagh,' in establishing throughout Munster the payment of tribute to the Coarbs of St. Patrick. And in the very next year after the commission of the last outrage above recited, in recording his death "by the miracles of God and Kiaran," the Four Masters characterise him as "an anchorite and scribe superior to any of the Irish in his time."

Where the Superior of a Church was called its Abbot, or Erenach, but not dignified with the higher title of Coarb, his land in such cases does not seem to have had the name or privilege, of Termon, but to have been simply known as church-land or Erenach land. This latter name seems to have been used at least to designate it in later times. *The Lymmavaddy Inquisition*, already cited, immediately in connection with the end of the passage quoted at p. 7, proceeds:—"And further, the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes, find, that the difference of termon, corbe, and herenagh, consisteth onlie in this, that the termon is the name of the land, and all termon land is herenagh land, and bath all the priviledges of herenagh land, but all herenagh land hath not alwaies as ample priviledges as the termon lands." It is to be regretted that these jurors did not understand how to write or compose English; as, had they done so, it might have deprived them in part of the opportunity of leaving involved in so much obscurity, the historical points which they were commissioned to investigate. How absurd would such a statement as the above sound to us, if made in connection with terms more familiar to our ears in these days.—E.g. "The difference of rector, glebe, and curate lieth *only* in this, that the glebe is the name of the land, &c."

Having said thus much concerning the nature of the ideas expressed by the terms Coarb, Erenach, and Termon, it will be of use, before proceeding any further with the study of the history connected with them, to give some account of one or two other names commonly employed to designate certain classes of official persons in the old Irish Church, before its alteration in the twelfth century, (and more or less afterwards also,) and of which examples occur in different places of the extracts from the Annals already adduced.

The most important of the offices referred to, is that implied by the word *Fear-leighinn*, commonly translated *Lecturer* or *Professor*. The word itself is a compound of two simple Irish words, and signifies literally, 'a man of learning,' or a 'man of lessons,' or lectures. Colgan explains it by the Latin '*Prælector*, vel potius *Scholasticus*,' 'a public Lecturer, or rather Head of a school.' He supposes that, about the end of the tenth century, the old term *scribhneoir*, a 'scribe,' was exchanged for this, and adduces in illustration of his opinion an example where the two terms are predicted of the same man, at the years 876, 889, of the Four Masters. * There is yet extant a letter of the famous Alcuin, who became preceptor to Charlemagne, about A.D. 780, addressed to one *Colcu*, or Colga, whom he styles a '*Lector* in Ireland'; and as the person so designated is understood to be the same whose death is recorded by the Four Masters at A.D. 789, in these terms, '*Colgu O'Donoghoe, Fearleighinn* of Clonmacnoise, who composed the *Besom of Devotion*, [died,] it has been concluded that *Lector* is a good and proper form of translation for the Irish official name in question.

And so it may be, considering that we cannot very exactly now define what the duties belonging to the office were. However, as there must have been some person to act as ordinary *schoolmaster* in the old monastic institutions of Ireland, and there is no name used in the Annals to express the holder of such a post, unless it be this word *Fearleighinn*, ('man of lessons,') which does with sufficient exactness express, according to its etymology, the idea belonging to it, nothing seems more likely, than that the *Fearleighinn*, or *Lector*, was originally nothing more or less than the schoolmaster of the establishment, the teacher of reading and writing, and other elementary instruction, secular and religious: though it may have been the case that, in process of time at least, the occupant of the office may have been regarded as holding a more dignified, and more strictly ecclesiastical position than is now assigned to our common schoolmasters, so as to approach in some measure to the idea of a *Professor of Theology*, which Colgan would associate with the name.

Colgan's own account of the ideas comprehended under the names *Coarb*, *Erenach*, *Fearleighinn*, &c., may be seen in the following passage of his Notes in the Appendix to the *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 292, 293, 'Part III. Of the Primates of Ireland, &c.'

"It is to be observed, *Secondly*," saith he, "that they who in the Catalogue set forth in the *Second Part*,⁺ and in other lists, are called bishops, are in the preceding Annals [i.e. the Four Masters, following the *Annals of Ulster*, &c.] named Abbots of Armagh. But how this uncertain way of using the names originated, I find it not easy to say for certain. It might seem to arise from the circumstance, that the Abbey of Armagh was one of considerable celebrity, whose abbots were frequently elected afterwards Archbishops of that See: or from *Abbot* being the same as *Father*, and the Archbishop of Armagh a common Father of all the Irish.

"We have to observe, *Thirdly*, that certain Irish words, which occur frequently in the Annals aforesaid, and other of our native Chronicles, are sometimes used by ancient writers in a sense different from that which belongs to them etymologically. So it is that the word *Scribhmidh*, [*scrivnyee*] which, according to its *etymon*, signifies a 'Scribe' or 'writer,' appears to be used by them for a *Chronographer*, or other writer of some Ecclesiastical work."

This appears a remark of no great importance, nor even of much meaning. A *Scribe* was properly a '*writer*,' one that practised the ancient art of multiplying manuscripts with a pen; and of course, in the monastic school, the works copied would be chiefly of an ecclesiastical character. What deviation, however, is there, from the etymology of the word *Scribe*, in using it to express those who employed themselves in writings of that particular class, more than any other? But to proceed with our quotation:—

"The word *Fearleighinn* [*farleyinn*] although expressing, according to its original import, in some cases, a *Lecturer*, in others, a *Scholastic*, [or *Schoolmaster*,] yet came, in its application among the ancients, to signify a public *Professor of Theology*. And as they who filled such an office, enjoyed a stipend in connection with it, hence in Collegiate, and especially Cathedral, Churches, we see those persons that held the dignity of a *Scholastic* numbered with their other ecclesiastics, and called *Scholastics*, from their being held bound, in virtue of their office, to be public Theological Professors; although it might be, that they did not exercise the office of teaching in any schools. [This would make the title of *Fearleighinn*, or *Lector*, very similar in sense to that of *Doctor of Divinity*, with us. But it seems a rather uncertain view of the matter.]

"Also, the word *eagmuidh*, [*agnee*] i.e. 'wise man,' denotes, with our ancient Chroniclers, a person who was not merely pre-eminently well read in Divinity, a sort of Doctor; but generally one that had produced some theological works.

"And the word *comhorb*, [*coarb*] which is derived from *com* or *con*, '*cum*,' or 'together with,' and *forba*, i.e. a *territory*, *farm*, *district*, although signifying, according to its etymology, a 'joint-owner of a farm,' a 'joint governor of a farm,' or a 'lord of the same soil,' territory, or district, yet came so to be applied, in common use, that a *comhorba*, or *comorban*, is identical with 'a successor in the same Ecclesiastical dignity,' or rather, in the same Cathedral or Monastery. For we find none styled *Comorbans* [or *coarbs*] but such as succeeded to some particular saint in the government of some Cathedral See or Abbacy, or at least of some House founded on such a territory belonging to the Church. Thus, by the *Comorban* [or *Coarb*] of St. Patrick is understood [although erroneously, in all cases, at least, prior to A.D. 1110, R.K.] the Archbishop of Armagh, by the *Comorban* of St. Columba, the Abbot of Hy, or of Derry, and so in other cases.

"The word *airchindeach*, [*airchinneach*, or *erenach*] appears to me of doubtful origin and etymological signification. Ware (*Writers of Ireland*, book 1, ch. 7.) gives his reader to understand, that by it is meant the *Archdeacon*, which if true, the name should rather be spelled *airchidneach*. That it is possibly of Greek origin, and came from a corruption of the word *Ethnearcha* or *Ethnearches*, denoting the chief or prefect of a family, might seem to be suggested by its common application, as we find it employed to denote the prefect, [or 'head

* i.e. of Moohla, Lector of Armagh.—See the Rev. Dr. Reeves's *Ant. of Down*, &c., pp. 145, 146. + i.e. the *Catalogue of Primates*, from the *Psalter of Cashel*, given on the same page (392) of Colgan's work, and to be found also in a subsequent page of this present publication.

man'] of a family inhabiting a church farm or territory. If it be of Irish origin, and derived from *ar*, i.e. 'over,' and *ceand*, 'the head, top, or superior,' it signifies a Prefect, or Provost. Whatever be its origin, according to its ordinary mode of use, the name is applied to the Head, Provost, or chief Prefect, of a Church territory, and of the family resident upon it."

At p. 630 of the same volume, Colgan has the following remarks on the Coarb's origin and office :—

"*Comhorba* [Coworba] or, according to the derivation, *comhshorba*, seems to come from *comh*, 'con,' 'together,' and *forba*, i.e. 'land, soil, district.' A *Comorban* [or *Caarb*] is the same as 'a partner in land,' 'one of the same land,' or 'from the same district.' But because one Abbot, or Prelate, succeeded to another, not only in his Ecclesiastical dignity, but also in his lands, farms, and other temporal possessions, hence that *Successor* of his came to obtain, among our countrymen, the name of *Comorban*; yet so as that he was called the *Comorban*, [or *Coarb*,] not of every one to whom he might succeed in that way, but only of the first founder of his place :—"

On the following page the same writer gives some further observations on the Coarb's office, and the distinction between it and that of the Erenach, thus :—

"*Airchinneach*, or perhaps, *Airchidneach*, signifies a person appointed to have some authority and right of prefecture over all the rest who were in possession of certain particular properties and farms belonging, of old, as it seems, to the Churches, one that held a kind of headship among such persons : subject, however, to the bishop, in a somewhat like manner, as was the *Comorban*,* as already mentioned, with this difference among others, that the name of *Comorban* was not given, except to such as were over a district that belonged of old to some celebrated and ancient Monastery, or at least to an Episcopal See ; while the name *Airchennach* was applied to any that held a headship over others in the way above stated, on lands or farms belonging to any Church, whether a monastery or not. And they were, from time immemorial, mere laymen. Yea, it is even doubted whether from the very outset, their dignity or faculty was annexed to the clerical or monastic state," [or not.] p. 631. ib.

According to the writer now cited, the Scribe's office, among the Irish people, became, about the close of the Tenth Century, identified with that of the Ferleighinn or Lector. What he has on this subject is to the following effect :—

"Inasmuch as the persons who performed this office [viz., that of the Scribes,] in the early ages were men of singular erudition,—the word, in the course of time, came to denote any ecclesiastical person whose office it was, not merely to transcribe ancient records, but further, to have a profound skill in understanding them, and make this their public profession, giving instructions in regard to them, and publishing new works themselves. For there used to be in every eminent monastery and cathedral church, some one of the monks or clergy, of singular erudition, on whom devolved the duty, not only of giving public lectures, but also of studying, investigating thoroughly, and elucidating for others, the native antiquities of the country, as well as adding to them historical narratives or annals connected with their own times. And, hence, in the period of our primitive ecclesiastical history, and almost to the middle of the ninth century, such a person was called a *scribhaidh*, or *scribhneoir*, i.e. a scribe, or writer.—But in the Cathedral Churches that name appears, from the middle of the tenth century and onwards to have given place to another, viz., *Fearleighinn*, i.e. Lector, or rather, Scholastic."—*Tr. Th.* p. 631, 632. Reeves's *Ant.* pp. 150.

So much of Colgan's statements concerning the matters in question has been given here, on account of his having been, not only one of the most learned writers who has touched upon them, but also a very good Irish scholar, and so, able to avail himself of sources of information on the subject,—open only indirectly, and by the aid of others, to other very learned men. But his observations are far from being judicious in many particulars ; and wherever they set forth any thing at variance with the statements given on the same subject in this Introduction, they may safely be disregarded. Even in his Irish scholarship, so far as exhibited in the above criticisms on the word *airchinneach*, he displays no great accuracy. The idea of its first syllable being formed from the preposition *ar* (upon,) is most thoroughly absurd ; such a mode of composition, to form a noun of the kind, being altogether unknown in Irish : nor could the preposition *ar* form the first part of any compound in the language, except it were to be an adverb. The possibility of the name being derived from the Greek *Ethnarcha* is no less absurd, and it is only wonderful how Colgan could have entertained such a notion.

Not much better is the idea that it might be formed from the Latin *Archidiaconus*, an archdeacon. The archdeacon's office was too closely connected with episcopal jurisdiction, and with diocesan arrangements, to find any place where neither existed. Accordingly, although we find archdeacons mentioned frequently in the portion of the Irish Annals which refer to the history of the country after the establishment of dioceses, and the settlement of the English here, (as an Archdeacon of Tuam, at A.D. 1244, an Archdeacon of Elphin, at A.D. 1287, of Breifny, [or Kilm^{ore},] at A.D. 1296, of Clogher, at A.D. 1423, &c.,) yet is not the name of any such official to be met with among all the numberless ecclesiastics whose obits occur in the earlier portion of the Annals. "The *airchinneach*," says Dr. O'Donovan, "was not the archdeacon, as many respectable authorities have supposed." (Note m, at A.D. 1219 of the 4 M. p. 194.) In fact, both in Latin and in Irish, the names are perfectly distinct, being respectively, in Irish, *airchindeach*, and *airchideochain*, and in Latin, *Archidiaconus*, and *Erenachus*, or *Herenacus*. The names of both offices occur in the Latin account of Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry, already cited. But the *Archdeacon* is there mentioned as a single individual, and as one of the Cathedral Chapter ; while there were *Erenachs*, one or more, in the several different parishes of the diocese, as then constituted.

It might perhaps be conceived possible, (seeing that there was at least some resemblance between the names and offices of the ancient Archdeacons and those of the Erenachs,) that the word Erenach, or *airchindeach*, may have originated in an early corruption of the *archdeacon's* title, and that after it had been long in use in that altered form, on the rearrangement of Church discipline after the settlement of the English in Ireland, the more proper and analogical word, *airchideochain*, might have been introduced, as the Irish term for an archdeacon ; especially as the names *Archdeacon* and *Erenach* do seem to belong to the same person, or the two offices to be identified, at least in some instances ; as for example in the case of Killery, mentioned in the extracts from the Annals at p. 24 sup. where, at A.D. 1333, Florence Mac an Oglagh is *Archdeacon*, and at A.D. 1362, Aongus Mac an Oglagh, *Erenach* of that place. Nor was it unnatural, that one holding the office of Erenach by the election of his native sept, might be found by the Church of Rome, when in power here, a suitable person for being appointed by her authority an Archdeacon also. Such a proceeding would, indeed, have harmonised very naturally with what appears to have been the general policy adopted in regard to such matters.

The promoters of Roman influence and Roman Church discipline may most naturally, in a case of the kind, have addressed the Irish national party in some such style as this :—

"We are desirous to comply with the proper form of canonical Church discipline, by having an *archdeacon* appointed, as that system requires, for your district. The person you have elected *Erenach*, from his education, and position in regard to influence in the country, appears to us the most suitable to fill such an office. His accepting it will give us a little control over him so far as that office is concerned ; but then it will be accompanied with an accession of dignity, and of some little perquisites, (which our system will secure to him,) that will amply compensate for any apparent subordination to external authority of the kind."

Such an arrangement having been accepted, and the two offices united in two or three successive appointments to an archdeaconry, efforts, on the part of the foreign disciplinarians, to merge the idea of the Erenach, with his Irish rights, in that of the Archdeacon, wholly dependant on Roman Canon law for his privileges and authority, might probably in some cases,

* Colgan makes use of this form, instead of Coarb, as more suitable to the Latin language, in which he wrote. The Coarbs and Erenachs were not (after what has been already shewn,) subject originally to any episcopal jurisdiction.

(especially where the sept of an erenach was in a weak and declining condition,) be attended with complete success, and the *erenach* become as fully identical with the *archdeacon*, as the *Coarb* (of Patrick, or Jarlath, e.g.) with the *archbishop*, in an analogous case; the original and proper idea of an *erenach* remaining, all the while, as distinct from that of an *archdeacon*, as that of a *coarb* was from the idea of an *archbishop*.

It was from considerations founded on some such cases, perhaps, that Ussher was led to make the statement, that "The *archidiaconus*, and the *Herenache* have in the Irish tongue both the same name;" (Elrington's Ussher, xi. 430.) a statement which, however, from what we have seen above, is evidently not very exact.

But had the Irish been inclined to adopt a corrupt abbreviation of the archdeacon's title, it is exceedingly unlikely that it should have assumed the form *airchindeach*, as the first syllable of it would almost certainly in that case have slidden into the form *ard*, or *aird*, which constitutes the first component part of so many words in their language. The natural form, indeed, for the whole word to have been taken, if so abbreviated, would have been *airdeochain*, which would have been fully as short, and simple, and also as Irish, a word, as *airchindeach*.

The real derivation of this disputed term is most probably from *ard*, *high*, and *ceand*, or *ceann*, a *head*. In writing these words to form a compounded one, Irish etymology requires that they should assume the forms *aird*, and *cheand*, or *chind*, an *i* being inserted in the first, and an *h*, or an aspirate, given to the initial of the second, and *cind* being the oblique case of *ceand*.) Thus is formed *aird-chind-each* or *air-chinn-each*, the last syllable being merely a termination common with nouns and adjectives in Irish, and the *nd* sounding, in that language, the same as *nn*.

The following is the note on the word, which is given by Dr. Reeves, in his Edition of Primate Colton's *Visitation of Derry*, (p. 4):—

Herenacum.—*Airchinneach*, the Irish form of the word, is derived, according to Colgan, from *ar*, 'super' [i.e. *over*,] and *cionn* [another form of *ceand*, or *ceann*, 'the head,'] 'caput,' or, according to others, from *ard-ceann*, or *ard-cinn*, 'a chief head,' and denotes, as an ecclesiastical term, 'the hereditary warden of a church.' It occurs in the Annals of the Four Masters for the first time at the year 601. It is found again at 788; but the Annals of Ulster in the parallel passage (Ann. 792) have *Princeps* [i.e. 'Prince,' or 'Superior,'] in its stead: and it is probable that the compilers of the ancient Irish Canons published by D'Achery had this word in view, when they employed the expression, *Excelsus Princeps* [or *Exalted Superior*,] to denote a monastic superior. Cormac, in his Glossary, makes it synonymous with the Greek *archos*, [a 'ruler,'] and Latin *excelsus* ['exalted.']. In a passage of the *Leabhar Breac*, also cited by Professor O'Donovan, Satan is styled the '*Airchinneach* of hell, and prince of death.' Annals, A.D. 1179.) Of the nature of the office, Colgan gives the following account:—'*Airchinneach*, or perhaps, *Airchidneach*, signifies a person, &c.:—[here follows the passage from Colgan, ending with, 'clerical or monastic state,' which has been already given on the preceding page of this Memoir, and need not be repeated; after citing which, Dr. Reeves continues his note on the word *Erenach* as follows:—]

"The Jury of the Inquisition of Dungannon, in 1609, give a like explanation, but in a fuller form: 'And further they say upon their oaths, that in all places of the said Countie of Tyrone, where the tiethes are divided betwixt the parson, vicar, and herenagh, they are to beare the chardge of repairinge and maynteyninge the proper parishe church equalitie between themselves. And the said jurors doe upon their oaths, finde and present, that the erenagh land was att first given by the temporall lords immediatlie to the first founders of the churches; and that those founders did give the same to severall septs for payinge rents and other dueties to the bishoppes and for repairinge and maynteyninge their parishe church, wherein they often tymes did beare a third parte, and some tymes twee third parts of the chardge, and for keepinge of hospitallitie; and that these septs or erenaghs have, tyme out of mynde, inherited the said lands accordinge to the Irish custome of tanistrie, and that neither the said lord archbushopp [i.e. the Primate of Armagh,] nor any other bushopp, nor their predecessors, could att any tyme heretofore or nowe can, remove the said herenaghs out of the said lands: and further, they say, that termon land had the same beginninge as herenagh land, onelye they differ in that the termoonland hath often tymes more privileges, as sanctuarie and the like, which was not allowed to many of the herenaghes; againe the chief tenant of the termon land was called a *corbe*, [or, more properly, '*coarb*,'] but in common speeche he is called by his sirname, [like the secular lords and chieftains of the several clans, known, in the same way as 'the O'Neill,'] or still more according to Irish usage, 'O'Neill,' simply, 'O'Donnell,' 'McGuire,' &c., R.K.] but the chief tennant of the herenagh [land] is alwaies knowne and called an herenagh, and that the *corbe*, in many places, hath under him one or more herenaghes to whom he giveth a portion of land free, or for rent or customes, and other liberties as he thought fitt."—(Ul. Inquis, App. ii.) See also Davis's Letter to the Earl of Salisbury (Collectan, de Reb., Hib., vol. i. p. 162; Ussher of Corbes, &c. (Works, vol. xi. p. 429; Collectan. de Reb. Hib. 1. p. 188; Ware's Works (vol. ii. pp. 233—236; Spelman's Glossary (sub voc. *Corba*); O'Connor, Rer. Hib. SS. (vol. iv., p. 36.))

The great features of the change which took place in the Church discipline of Ireland in the twelfth century, as affecting the position and circumstances of the bishops, coarbs, and erenachs, become, after what has preceded, very intelligible. The island having been distributed into dioceses and parishes, (the limits of the former of which were determined, to a considerable extent, by those of the territorial possessions of particular tribes, while the latter were settled, probably, by a reference to the position of the churches already existing in the country,) there were no doubt selected for the new diocesan prelates, to be invested with ordinary jurisdiction, such individuals as might with most efficiency support and promote the influence of the new system then introduced. In places where there was occasion for founding new churches, a similar principle would apply; as also to such of the old ones as might, perforce, or otherwise, come perfectly under the influence of that new system; while with regard to those old ecclesiastical benefices, which had become (as was the case in so many instances,) the property of particular families, the rights of such families to them, although tenaciously maintained and protected by strong national sympathies, (by the power of the chieftains and clans within whose territories they lay,) might, by gradual efforts, be reduced in time to uniformity of government with the rest. In connection with the case of such benefices, John of Salernum, who acted as Pope's Legate in Ireland, in A.D. 1201, received instructions, we are told, from his master, Pope Innocent III, "to abolish in that country the abusive practice of sons and grandsons being appointed to succeed their fathers and grandfathers in ecclesiastical benefices."*

For the support and maintenance of the newly organised hierarchy, resources of a twofold nature were apparently to be made available—*First*, the existing ecclesiastical property of the country, so far as it would be drawn away from those who possessed it by titles founded on the old Irish system, and brought under the control of the new diocesan bishops, officials, rectors, vicars, &c.; and *secondly*, the treasures hid in the as yet almost wholly unlabored field of Tithe Imposition.

Historical materials illustrative of the struggles connected with the *first* part of the ecclesiastical property here alluded to, are not altogether deficient, although they have been little brought before public notice. When the contents of our diocesan records shall have been more examined, and understood, they may probably help to throw some light on the matter. Meanwhile, to enter into any large details concerning it here, would be in many ways impossible. We may, however, allude very briefly to the advantages possessed, in the struggles referred to, by the newly formed corporation under the patronage of the English Monarchs and Roman Pontiffs. The native ecclesiastics, of the old Irish system, were, no doubt, in many instances, men of great and extensive personal influence; but belonging, as they did, to different clans, divided from one another by many jealousies, and constantly at wars among themselves, wars in which prelates and coarbs, (as well their inferiors in the ecclesiastical state,) often fought and fell, and in which one party or the other would be ready enough to engage, on any terms, the support of England and Rome, through the mediation of the new hierarchy,—these Irish ecclesiastics, coarbs, erenachs, &c., could obviously form no strong combination among themselves, to resist aggression; and their uncombined and planless efforts to keep for themselves and their successors the inheritance of their fathers, could only result in successive

* Ciacconius de Vitis Pontificum. Col. 694. Romæ 1630.

losses, as time rolled on, and the opposing influence, in comparative strength and order, overshadowed, more and more widely, the surface of their land. Then further, in the disordered state of affairs which prevailed in Ireland subsequently to the Danish wars, little respect was shewn towards ecclesiastics, as such. Individuals among them, of eminent personal qualifications and commanding abilities, might fare well enough, and exercise influence (on such grounds as secular princes also did,) in their native land; but their sacred *office* was little regarded; and in 'the days when Malachy wore the collar of gold,' (reckoning them from his time, A.D. 1000, to that 'when her faithless sons betrayed her,') Erin's Annalists furnish us with evidence, advanced in copious and horrible simplicity, that Coarbs, Erenachs, and Ferleighinn, were knocked down and assassinated, from year to year, by their own countrymen, just as freely as '*Royal Heirs*,' or any other Hibernians of unconsecrated blood. In the system, on the contrary, propagated by the Anglo-Romish Churchmen in Ireland, the person, as well as the office, of a clergyman, was held sacred and inviolable, so far as to be almost independent of royalty itself: and the ideas associated with the humiliating penitence of Henry II, on the murder of "S. Thomas, of Canterbury," and his absolution by Roman authority, diffused, in the minds of such as entertained them, an unearthly dignity and grandeur over the character of all admitted to the privileges of the clerical state. When the *Coarbs* and *Erenachs* were treated with violence and outrage by the turbulent native chieftains, much more would such insignificant personages as the *bishops* be exposed to the like, except so far as their greater poverty and less influence might serve to them as a protection; and in these circumstances, it were no wonder if they felt coldly towards a system in which their order was thus degraded and oppressed, and were much attracted by one that opened its arms to embrace them with promise of protection in dignity and honor. And when the bishops were all won to the new system, what had become of the old and independent Irish Church? The *Coarbs* and *Erenachs* might yet retain power and wealth, and give trouble;—but *their source of orders was gone*—and their successions, except as those of laymen, must in the next generation after the submission or decease of the last of the *independent* bishops of the old system, become totally extinct.

As for the *Second* part of the Ecclesiastical property above noticed, viz., the *Tithes*, they were, as we have already seen, almost a new creation in this country after the establishment of the English power in it; any attempts that had been previously made to secure their general payment, having proved, apparently, almost wholly unsuccessful. As, however, the Legate Gille, who convened the Synod of Rathbreasail, (and who, according to Dr. Lanigan, ii. 24, had been bishop of Limerick in, or before, A.D. 1106,) evidently had it in view to promote the establishment in Ireland of the whole system of discipline of the Roman Church, as carried out in practice in England and France, and the other parts of the Church abroad, with which he had been acquainted, we cannot doubt that the introduction of the Tithe system formed a part of his plans with the rest; and before the Act for its enforcement at the Synod of Kells, in 1152, or the more cogent one introduced by authority of Henry II, at Cashel, in 1172, it is to be supposed, that so far as the influence of Gille and Malachy, and others who co-operated with them, was able to exercise and extend itself, over princes, or clans, the custom of paying the impost, whether as a voluntary or compulsory procedure, would have been in many localities, or districts, at least partially, established.

According to the most ancient ecclesiastical decrees and canons relative to the distribution of clerical income, in the western church, a portion of such income, amounting originally to a fourth, was to be applied to the bishop's maintenance. Concerning this point, Pope Gelasius, for instance, in the year 494, thus writes:—"It is expedient that the funds [of the church,] including the oblations of the faithful, be distributed into four portions, one whereof is to belong to the bishop, another to the clergy, a third to be for the poor, and the fourth to be applied to purposes of building and repair." (Ep. ix. ad Episc. Lucanæ, c. 27. Concil. Ed. Mansi, vol. viii. col. 45.) By such an arrangement was provision made for the supplying of an episcopal income, to a more or less recent period, in the Churches of Germany, France, and England. In Spain, also, a like distribution prevailed; although it appears, through the early endowment of the sees, to have been there applied in a somewhat modified form. The Second Council of Braga, A.D. 563, enacted, "that of church property there were to be made three equal portions; that is, one part for the bishop, another for the clergy, a third for the repairing or lighting of the church. Of the fourth part, the person entrusted with the administration of it, whether archpresbyter or archdeacon, is to render an account to the bishop."—On which enactment the comment of Dr. Reeves is to this effect:—"Here," says he, "it would seem, that the tripartite allotment had taken the place of the other, and that the bishop's third, though nominally for his own purposes, was designed for the poor, which when bestowed among them, subject to the reduction for the episcopal dues, was, after the former custom, called a *quarta pars*," or 'fourth.' "It is supposed that the old Roman distribution," (adds Dr. Reeves,) "existed in England soon after the establishment of Christianity among the Saxons, and that it continued until the prædial endowment of the bishops caused the transfer of their *quarta* to the parochial clergy or religious houses." The latest trace of the ancient usage in that country appears to be found at the year 1155, when Pope Urban III. gave directions that the old quadri-partite division should be applied in the distribution of the offerings presented at the shrine of 'St. Thomas the Martyr,' in Canterbury. *

Speaking of the Synod of Rathbreasail, (in his *Antiquities of Down and Connor*, p. 162,) Dr. Reeves observes that, "The first object of this assembly was...to define the dioceses of Ireland by regular bounds; and the other, to settle an endowment for the bishops. Keating recites the act of the convention, whereby *the revenues of the clergy, and the churchlands, were confined to the several bishops of Ireland for their maintenance, and support of the episcopal character*; which lands were to be exempted from tribute and chief rents, and other public contributions, and so remain, in that state of freedom and independency for ever." This appears, however, to be a rather too unlimited an amplification of the statement in Keating's original, on the subject referred to, all that he has about it in his account of the Synod being simply what follows:—"It was in this Synod that the churches of Ireland were given over completely to the bishops, without reservation of rent or control over them for any temporal rulers, for ever. It was in it, likewise, that the *Fairheadha*, or Dioceses, of the Bishops of Ireland, were constituted. These to be the bishops of Leath Cuinn," (i.e. of the North of Ireland, &c., &c. There is nothing here to support the statement, that *the revenues of the clergy, much less the church-lands, were confirmed to the bishops for their maintenance*; all that is implied being, apparently, that the Churches were subjected to the diocesan jurisdiction of the bishops; and the lay lords, or chieftains, forbidden to exact contributions from the Church-lands, the bishops only to have the right of visiting them, and enforcing a claim to such entertainment, &c., as the secular princes extorted from the dwellers on the ordinary temporal lands. What the English *Keating* by Dermot O'Connor, has on this subject, I do not now remember, nor is the book either within reach to refer to, or worth the trouble of seeking, to consult it; a more thoroughly absurd production under the name of a 'translation,' having, I suppose, never issued from the press. †

It is possible, indeed, that had we the lost '*Book of Clonenagh*,' which was Keating's authority for the history of the Synod, it might give us more full and satisfactory information as to the measures actually adopted on that occasion, in regard to the settlement of the episcopal revenues, and of clerical income generally; as, no doubt, vigorous plans for the purpose must have been then set on foot, including, of course, though we are not directly informed on the subject, some order for the

* See Colton's *Visitation of Derry*, by Reeves, Appendix, pp. 112 seqq. + Since writing the above, I have observed that Dr. Lanigan (IV. 43,) quotes the passage of Keating in the same inaccurate form as that in which it is given by Dr. Reeves.

general assessment of tithes, and their due application, for church purposes. The condition of the old Irish bishops generally, before the Synod, as to temporal property, was probably very much similar to that of Bishop Aidan in England, who, according to Bede (iii. 17.) "had no possession of his own, save his church, and the lands adjoining it;" if indeed those Irish bishops generally had so much. Many of them, it is very likely, had even less.

"When Christian O'Morgair was Bishop of Clogher, that is, between 1126 and 1139, 'his brother Malachy obtained from Pope Innocent II. that the fourth part of the tithes, or the episcopal part, throughout all Ergall, should be allotted to the bishops of Clogher.' (*Registry of Clogher*, cited in Harris's Ware, vol. 1. p. 180.) At that time Ergall [called in the *Annals Airghialla*, or *Oirghialla*, i.e. *Oriel*,] included the county of Louth, and the diocese reached to Ardstraw, in Tyrone. The Bishops of Clogher continued to enjoy this revenue till the early part of the Seventeenth Century, when Bishop Montgomery, having procured from the Crown a handsome endowment for his see, effected its consolidation with the incomes of the parochial clergy. In the Inquisitions for the counties of Fermanagh and Monaghan, sped in 1609, it was found that the tithes of most of the parishes in the diocese, [i.e. the said diocese of Clogher,] were divided into four equal parts, of which the bishop was wont to receive one, the parson two, and the vicar one." (*Colton's Visn. of Derry*, p. 114.)

There is no reason to think, that, in obtaining for the bishop of Clogher the endowment above-mentioned, under a papal sanction, Malachy acted from a partiality towards his own brother, or that one of his character would have introduced such an arrangement, unless with a view to what he believed to be for the Church's benefit, rather than that of any private individuals, whosoever they might be. So that, had the other bishops of Ireland been desirous at that time to secure a similar arrangement, in their several dioceses, he would probably have used his influence, as pope's legate, to obtain a like advantage for them also. Perhaps we may infer, that if not generally sought after, it was because it was not in most of their cases worth the trouble of seeking for; tithes being then so little paid, that a quarter of those from a diocese generally, would have made but a contemptible addition to what the bishops, at that early time, derived from other sources: while in Clogher, which was under the care of Malachy's own brother, a person much esteemed and beloved, and who shared, no doubt, in his brother's principles and views of ecclesiastical order, in a high degree, matters may have been brought into a better state, and the income derivable from tithes been proportionably more considerable. Possibly, too, the arrangement was adopted in Clogher first, with a view to its being made, so far, a model for the other dioceses of Ireland, into which it was afterwards, (as far as we can learn,) introduced.

"In Pope Nicholas's Taxation of the diocese of Tuam, [A.D. 1306,] the amount which the archbishop, rector, and vicar, received in each parish is set out, the proportion being just as above stated of Clogher. In fact, by this time, the eleemosynary and reparation fourths were combined to endow a new class of ecclesiastics,—the rectors; and as these corporations were often represented by a religious house, the former of these portions was supposed to be converted to its original use, while the repairs of the chancel became obligatory on the incumbent, as that of the nave was upon the parish." (*Colton's Visn. of Derry*, *ib.*) In the other dioceses of the province of Tuam (Killala, Achonry, Elphin, Clonfert, and Kilmacduagh) a similar arrangement prevailed, until, in more or less recent times, (from 1637 to 1717,) the 'quarter episcopals,' in all but the two last, were transferred from the bishop's income to be added to that of the parochial clergy. But in Clonfert and Kilmacduagh they continued to form a portion of the episcopal revenue till 1833, when the whole of such revenue fell over to the management of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland.

In the *Provinces of Dublin and Cashel*, where the bishoprics were better endowed, the bishop's fourth had, at a much earlier period, ceased to exist, and the tithes were either enjoyed entirely by the incumbent, or shared between the rector, or parson, and vicar, in the proportion of two to one.

In the *Province of Armagh*, the like distribution prevailed throughout the dioceses of *Armagh*, *Down*, *Connor*, and *Dromore*, though occasionally the vicar received less, but seldom more, than his one-third. In the diocese of *Kilmore*, the rector of each parish received two-thirds of the tithes, except from the termon lands, while the vicar received one-third of all. Lastly, in the *Dioceses of Derry and Raphoe*, as in the ancient Church of Spain, a triple division of the tithes existed, one-third originally belonging to the Bishop;—which was accordingly known as the *Tertia Episcopalis*, or 'Episcopal Third.'

To the account of Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry is appended a Rental of the Bishop's income, so far as paid in money, from the several parishes of that diocese. It exhibits, as a distinct item, the amount due from each under the name of 'Episcopal Thirds'; in connection with which Dr. Reeves has the following note, (p. 66:):—"In the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe the tithes of each parish were divided into three equal portions, of which one was assigned to the rector, one to the vicar, and one to the herenagh. The last was called the Bishop's Third, and in former times was given directly to the diocesan; but as the tithes were paid *in kind*, and the collection, when so diffused, necessarily entailed much trouble and loss, the bishop's Third was transferred to the parochial farmer, the herenagh, who in return paid the bishop by an annual pension or composition, at the same time that he accounted for the rent of his church-land. The amount presently became fixed, and formed, as is shewn in the present Rental, a stated portion of the episcopal income."

So far as yet stated, the income available for the diocesan bishops, when first established in Ireland, consisted, *first*, of what they could obtain, of the existing church lands, or of rents from any portion of them, from the coarbs and erenachs; an endowment which might be further increased by gifts or purchases of additional property of the same kind, from time to time; and *secondly*, of the portion of the tithes payable to them by the erenachs, who appear to have been the ordinary agents for their collection from the natives. "But it was neither from the rent nor from the *tertia episcopalis*, which were fixed at a very low rate, that the bishop derived his principal emolument; he could, as has been exemplified in the course of Primate Colton's Visitation, make a personal demand of both provisions and service."—(Reeves, p. 117.) This right is very fully commented on, and illustrated, in a statement of Bishop Montgomery's to James I., to be cited in a future page of the present Essay, and it need not meanwhile be any further dwelt upon here, than so far as will suffice to point out as briefly as may be possible, what appears to have been its origin.

For this purpose, materials are supplied to our hand in the Introduction to the interesting publication of Dr. Reeves, which, in the preceding pages has been so largely drawn upon, and at p. iii., of which, we find what follows:—

"To suppose that Visitations, in the modern use of the word, existed at all in the early ages of the Irish Church, would be to assume that there were fixed dioceses and regularly defined parishes, as well as facilities of intercourse, in the face of strong presumptive evidence. The first rudiment of the Irish system of visitation is to be discovered in the practice of the abbots of chief monasteries, who occasionally made a circuit of a particular district where the memory of their patron saint was held in esteem, carrying with them his reliques or *insignia*, and levying contributions from churches and people. The acknowledgement thus made was termed the '*the Law*' of the particular saint, which is expressed in all the ancient Annals by the Latin word *Lex*, though the meaning of the term was sometimes denoted by the Irish word *cain* [pronounced '*kaw-in*'] which signifies 'a tribute,' and *riar*, in the sense of a 'demand,' or 'claim.'"

Instances accordingly occur in the old Irish Annals, from an early period in the Eighth Century, of the promulgation of 'the Law' of one saint or another, in particular districts; as of the *Law of Adamnanus*, A.D. 727, the *Law of Ciaran*, or *Kiaran* of Clonmacnoise, A.D. 744, the *Law of Columkille*, A.D. 756 and 777. (See more of such cases in *Reeves ut sup.*)—"Some of these saints were founders of churches, which afterwards became the heads of sees, while others of them had no successors of the episcopal order; their *Lex* therefore had reference to their monastic influence, and owed its acknowledgement to the reputed sanctity of their lives. In process of time, however, the *Lex Patricii*, ['Patrick's Law'] superseded all the rest,

and the visitations of his *Successors, the abbots of Armagh*, became almost the only ones which remain on record ;" excepting one or two distinguished expeditions of a similar kind by the Coarb of Columkille in Derry, noticed in the Annals of the Twelfth Century.

The *Riar Padraicc*, or 'Law of Patrick,' would seem, from a statement of the Annalist Tighernach, and Keating's account, to have been established in Ireland in the year 737. The Four Masters, at the year 778, record "the promulgation of Patrick's law (*cain*) at Cruachan, by Dubhdaleithe [abbot of Armagh,] and Tibraide, son of Tadhg" (or Teigue.) At A.D. 817 they state, that "Artri, son of Connor, went to Connaught with the shrine of Patrick" in that year; and again, at A.D. 822, that "The Law of Patrick [was promulgated] over Munster by Felim, son of Crivhan [or, Griffin, who was king there,] and by Artri son of Connor, i.e. Bishop of Armagh." And similarly, at A.D. 824, "The Law of Patrick [was promulgated] throughout the three divisions of Connaught, by Artri, son of Conor, i.e. Bishop of Armagh." The abbot of Armagh was probably making a similar tour in 945, "when the full of the [bell called] *Finnfadhach* of silver [was given] by the Cinel Eoghain, [or people of Derry and Tyrone,] for the blessing of Patrick and his successor, i.e. Joseph."

If any one ask, in passing, what the Bishop of Armagh had to do with collecting or enforcing the dues claimable by the *Successor of Patrick*, the answer appears to be, that this Bishop Artri was a rival of Eugene, or 'Owen, of Monasterboice,' the lawful Coarb of Patrick, and supported in such rivalry by his half-brother Cumusgach, king of Airghialla, or Oriel, whose forcible ejection of Owen from the primacy was the occasion of much bloodshed in A.D. 825: the result being, that Owen was ultimately reinstated in the abbacy, but not until after a three days' battle, and the slaughter of several persons of noble rank, including Cumusgach himself. Perhaps Artri and Cumusgach may have had in view to consolidate the 'bishopric of Armagh' and 'Coarbship of Patrick,' as was afterwards effected in Malachy's time, with a design to reduce the Irish ecclesiastical system to uniformity with that which prevailed in other lands. In any case, to aid his claims, Artri, it would seem, found means to secure for himself the possession of 'the shrine of Patrick,' which belonged of right to the lawful Coarb.

By the middle of the tenth century, it is probable, the supremacy of Armagh had become generally acknowledged, and the right of the 'Coarbs of Patrick' to levy stipends in all parts of Ireland prescriptively recognised. Thenceforth, a different term is made use of in the Annals.—We hear no more of the 'Law of Patrick';—but the abbot is said to make a *cuairt*, i.e. a 'circuit,' or visitation, or a *mor-chuairt*, i.e. 'a great circuit,' or, 'a grand visitation,' of such and such a district, and to obtain his *riar*, or 'demand,' of which many instances may be seen in the portion of the *Annals* relating to the period between A.D. 973 and A.D. 1180; or, in a collected form, in the Introduction to Reeves's *Colton*, already mentioned.

A few of these examples it will be proper to cite here, as illustrative of the circumstances connected with the first Irish visitations, as recorded by the Annalists; viz. :—

- A.D. 973. [*properly*, 975.] "Dubhdaleithe, Coarb of Patrick, made a circuit [*cuairt*,] of Munster, and obtained his demand," (*reir*.)
- A.D. 986. "The Shrine of Patrick was carried off by Maelseachlin [or Malachy the Great, King of Ireland,] from Ardee, to Assy, [on the Boyne, near Tarah, Co. Meath,] in consequence of the rebellion of the son of Cairelan. Peace was afterwards made between them, and Patrick's dues [or 'claim,' (*riar Patraicc*) submitted to] by Maelseachlin, i.e. the visitation of the men of Meath, both ecclesiastical and secular; a banquet [also] for every fort [to be given] by Maelseachlin himself, besides seven *cumhals*, [i.e. twenty-one cows, or an equivalent,] and [in short] the whole dues claimed, in full."
- [N.B. The sacrilege supposed to be involved in the forcible removal of the Shrine from Ardee, was what brought on King Malachy and his principality of Meath such a heavy penalty as that here noticed.]
- A.D. 992. "Muireacan, of Bodoney, Coarb of Patrick, went on circuit, [or, 'on a visitation tour,' for *cuairt*,] in Tyrone, on which occasion he conferred the rank of king on Aodh, [or Hugh,] son of Donnell, in the presence of Patrick's congregation, [i.e. the conventual body of clergy ruled by him at Armagh,] and made, subsequently, a great visitation [*mor-chuairt*] of the North of Ireland."
- A.D. 1021. "Awley, Coarb of Patrick, went into Munster for the first time, and made a great circuit (*mor chuairt*) thereof."
- A.D. 1050. "Dubhdaleithe, [or, Dudalehe,] Coarb of Patrick, went on a visitation tour in Tyrone, and brought with him 300 cows from them" [of that country.]
- A.D. 1068. "Melisa, son of Awley, Coarb of Patrick, [went] on a visitation tour in Munster a first time, and received a full visitation tribute, [literally, 'a full visitation'] both of screaballs, [i.e. silver pennies,] and offerings."
- A.D. 1133. "Murtogh, Coarb of Patrick, went on a visitation tour in Tyrone, and received his tribute [*riarughadh*,] of cows and horses, and left [the people] his blessing."
- A.D. 1140. "The Coarb of Patrick, [Gelasius, went] on a visitation tour in Connaught, for the first time, and obtained a liberal tribute [*oigh reir*:] and it was agreed by Turlogh O'Connor, and the nobles of Connaught, to place their Churches in subjection to his control: whereupon the Coarb of Patrick, and his congregation, left a blessing on the king, and on the nobles of Connaught."
- A.D. 1150. "The Coarb of Patrick, and the Congregation of Patrick, [Samhadh Phatraicc,] went on a visitation tour in Tyrone; on which occasion they obtained their full tribute of cows, i.e. a cow from every house of a *biatach* and freeman, a horse from every chieftain, and twenty cows from the king himself."

Immediately in connection with this last extract, follows, in the Four Masters, an account of a similar visitation of the Cinel-eoghain people, by Flaherty Brallaghan, Coarb of Columkille, in Derry, at that time, who received from the people visited by him a still more splendid collection of offerings, including "a gold ring of five ounces, his horse, and his battle-dress, from Murtogh, son of Niall O'Lochlainn, king of Ireland."

To these examples of early Irish visitations, others might easily be added if there were occasion, from the same source. But those adduced will abundantly suffice for the present.

What the Shrine of Patrick was, which the Coarb and his Clergy carried about with them on their 'visitations,' or what its contents, the Four Masters do not particularly inform us. The Irish word used to express it, *scrin*, agrees with the Latin *scrinium*, a 'box,' or 'desk,' from which it may have been abbreviated.—But instead of this word, others, of a plural form, are elsewhere substituted, with an evident intention of conveying nearly the same idea, in other parts of the Annals. So, where the Four Masters have, at A.D. 835, a notice of Dermot, the Coarb of Patrick, visiting Connaught, *le Lex Patraicc*, i.e. 'with the Law of Patrick,' as already explained, the older Annals of Ulster, instead of the three words just cited, have the Latin expression, *cum Lege et vexillis Patricii*, 'with the law and insignia, [literally, banners,] of Patrick;' implying that the Coarb, as he went along, imposing through the country Patrick's Duty, carried with him certain articles as his credentials, which were well known universally among the people, as muniments, or title-deeds, as it were, of the Abbey of Armagh; and which, as reputed to have belonged to its illustrious founder, were held in the greatest veneration by the Irish people generally. No written deeds could better (might we not say, 'so well?') answer the purpose of identifying, to the unlettered natives of the distant wilds which he might visit in his tour, the individual possessed of a rightful claim to their sympathies and contributions, as the true 'Coarb of Patrick.'

But these Insignia, Relics, or Memorials, of St. Patrick, were made to serve also another very important purpose, their use in which must have added considerably to the Coarb's influence, as naturally introducing him for an arbiter in cases of serious litigation among the chieftains and people. For they were applied, as the *Sacred Scriptures* now are, in the administration of oaths; for which reason they were also known ordinarily by the name of *mionna*, the term still commonly employed for oaths among the Irish-speaking people of this country. A relic used in this way was also called a *minister*, or as it should more properly be spelled, a *minastre*, in Irish *mionn-aistre*, i.e. "an oath of a journey," or "travelling relique," as it is explained in an old Glossary in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 1, 15, p. 975. At A.D. 843, the Four Masters

mention, that "Forannan, Primate of Armagh, was taken prisoner by the foreigners, [or, Danes,] at Cloncowardy, with his oaths, [*co na mhiannaibh*], and with his family, [*mhuinntir*, meaning 'his clergy,'] and carried off by them to their ships at Limerick;" in which passage, the old Translation of the Annals of Ulster in the British Museum (*Cod. Clarend.* tom. 49.) renders it, "with his reliques, or oaths, and his people"—"And, as must be well known to most of my readers," says Dr. Petrie, on this subject, "this ancient custom of swearing on the relics of the saints of the ancient Irish Church is still continued among the peasantry in many parts of Ireland, by whom it is often supposed that thieves would exonerate themselves from the guilt of which they were suspected, by a false oath on the Holy Gospels, but would not dare to do so by an oath on one of those ancient reliquaries," a superstitious dread of the vengeance of the saint who might be so dishonored, acting more forcibly on their misguided feelings, than a religious regard, of love or fear, for what might be pleasing to their God and Saviour—(See Dr. P.'s learned *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers*, &c., pp. 333, 340.) Perjuries, notwithstanding, numerous and aggravated, pollute the pages of the Annals of Ireland, especially during the ages immediately preceding the English Invasion; and all the awful feelings cherished by the people as to the danger of dishonoring those ancient relics, did not suffice to prevent the recurrence of the crime, for trifling causes, even in connection with such of them as were of highest repute for their sanctity; as where, A.D. 1030, "The Staff of Jesus was profaned [in a case] relating to three horses," and adds the Annalist, "the person who profaned it was killed before the expiration of nine days." The Staff here spoken of was the *Crozier of the Coarb of Patrick*, supposed to have belonged originally to our Blessed Saviour, and to have been fashioned with His own hands.

Without our being called upon to credit this latter story, we may receive it as by no means impossible, nor even improbable, that the Crozier in question did belong to St. Patrick himself, who, according to the account given by Evinus, (in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, Part iii. c. lxxviii. Trias Thaum. p. 164. Petrie, *ut sup.* p. 156.) held this Staff, or Crozier, in his hand, when, assisted by the chief prelates, clergy, and people of the country, he laid, in A.D. 444, or 445, the foundations of the Church of Armagh. At all events, it was one of the most ancient, as well as most famous of those relics which appertained to the Coarb of Patrick as such. It was, however, removed to Dublin at the end of the Twelfth Century, and preserved among the Relics belonging to Christ Church Cathedral, in that city, until the time of the Reformation, when George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, caused it to be publicly committed to the flames and burned. (See Mant's Church Hist. of Ireland, vol. 1. p. 141; and, for a full history of the relic in question, Dr. Todd's Introduction to the *Book of Obits* of Christ Church.)

The next item among the relics, or *mionna*, belonging to the Coarb of Patrick, which demands notice here, was the Bell of St. Patrick, known as the *Finnfaidheach*, or 'Fair-toned [bell,]' which also, as well as the preceding article, was believed to have belonged originally to the saint himself. It was supposed to have been made for him by the smith Laevan, whom he employed at such works, and who is called in the *Tripartite Life* of the saint, "the artificer of that famous reliquary called the *Finnfaidheach*." This Bell has already been mentioned in a preceding page.

But a much more interesting item in the Armagh List of Relics, was the famous Manuscript known in modern times as the *Book of Armagh*. "This manuscript," says Dr. Petrie, "was that celebrated book of the Gospels called the *Canoin Patraic*, or Patrick's Canons, which was considered of such inestimable value, that its safe stewardship became an hereditary office of dignity in a family connected with the Church of Armagh, who derived their name, Mac Moyre, or son of the Steward from this circumstance, and as a remuneration for which they held no less than eight townlands in the county, still known as the lands of Bally Mac Moyre, or Mac Moyre's Town, [more commonly, Ballymoyer, Ballymyre, or Ballyweer, the last form being as correct as any, R.K.] So great, indeed, was the veneration in which this book, together with the crozier of Patrick, were held by the Irish, that St. Bernard tells us, in his *Life of St. Malachy*, it was difficult to persuade the people to receive or acknowledge any one as the rightful Archbishop of Armagh, but the possessor of them"—(p. 330.)

The passage in the *Life of Malachy* on which the preceding statement is founded, is one connected with the violent struggle for the primacy, which took place, between him and his friends and supporters (in the interest of the Roman Church,) on the one side, and the Irish family who had for so many generations occupied the office by hereditary succession, on the other. On the subject of this quarrel, St. Bernard (besides a great deal more, throughout the *Life* in question,) has, in his Fifth Chapter of that biographical sketch, introduced the statement which follows:—

"In the thirty-eighth year of his age, poor Malachy, on the expulsion of the usurper, entered Armagh as pontiff and metropolitan of all Ireland. But when the king, and those others who had been the means of introducing him into the place, had returned to their own quarters, he remains, in the hand of God, and for him remain, fighting without, and fears within. For lo! that generation of vipers, gnashing their teeth, and vociferating their complaints of being robbed of their inheritance, work themselves up every where, within and without, [i.e. in Armagh itself, and in the territory connected with it, R.K.] into a rage against the Lord and against his Christ.

"Niall, seeing that nothing was left him, but to betake himself to flight, carried away with him certain *insignia* belonging to that Church, [*edie illius*, i.e. the Church of Armagh, R.K.] viz. the *Text of the Gospels*, which had belonged to Blessed Patrick, and a Staff overlaid with gold, and adorned with most precious jewels, which they call the *Staff of Jesus*, [*baculum Jesu*, answering to the Irish name *Bachal Iosa*,] because that the Lord himself (as the supposition goes,) had borne it in his own hands, and been [originally] the framer of it. And these symbols are looked upon by the people of that country as objects of the very highest dignity and veneration. For they are universally known, and of the greatest possible celebrity, among the various tribes [of the Irish,] and held in such reverence by them all, that whosoever they see to be in possession of them, him that foolish and senseless people are wont to receive as their bishop.

"This vagabond wretch went on accordingly, like another Satan, going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down therein, carrying about with him the sacred *insignia*. And so, making a display of these every where, he obtained a reception every where for their sake, winning for himself the affections of all classes by means of them, and withdrawing from Malachy as many of his supporters as he possibly could."

The different articles included among the relics, or *mionna*, of the 'Coarb of Patrick,' were, perhaps, kept in a common repository, or small chest, known as the *Scrin*, or Shrine of Patrick, already mentioned.

The subsequent history of the *Canoin Phadruig*, or *Book of Armagh*, as comprised in the following statement, written by the celebrated antiquary, Humphry Lhwyd, is of sufficient interest, in connection with what precedes, to justify our citing it at full length, in this place. We translate from the Latin account published in O'Connor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, Vol. I. *Epist. Nunc.* pp. lviii, lviii. quoted in Petrie's *Round Towers*, &c., p. 331.

"This Manuscript is, beyond all doubt, of very great antiquity, whether it may have been written in part by the hand of St. Patrick himself, (as is stated at the end of fol. 24,) or whether it be, as appears to me more probable, the work of some later age. And possibly it is that very *Text of the Gospels*, which St. Bernard, in his *Life of Malachy*, reckons among the *insignia* of the Church of Armagh, and describes as having been St. Patrick's own *Text*. It is called by Ussher and Ware, *The Book of Armagh*; but by the natives of the country, *The Book of St. Patrick's Canons*, a name derived (as I suppose,) from the Canons, [or Tables,] of Harmonies between the different Evangelists, which commence at fol. 26.

"The book now mentioned was formerly regarded by the Irish as an article of great value: inasmuch that the family commonly known as MacMaor, in English *MacMoyre*, has derived that name from its custody. For *Maor*, in Irish, [answering to the English, *Mayor*,] signifies a *custodee*, and to that whole family was applied the common appellation of *Maor na cCanon*, or *Custodee* [or Warden,] of the *Canons*. And they also held formerly eight townlands called the lands of Ballymoyre, from the See of Armagh, for the safe custody of this book. In whose hands, for many ages past, the volume did remain, until Florence Mac Moyre went over into England, in the year of Salvation, 1680,

to bear witness, (falsely, I am afraid,) against Oliver Plunket, D.D., chief-prelate, according to them of Rome, of this realm, who was, undeservedly, as is believed, hanged in London. MacMoyre, however, being in want of money at his departure, deposited this Manuscript as a security for five pounds sterling.

"In this way it came, to his no small satisfaction, into the hands of Arthur Brownlowe, who, not without much trouble, arranged the then loose leaves in their proper order, inserted numbers to mark the folios, at the head of the volume, and added others in the margin to distinguish the chapters. He also took care to have the folios, when thus restored to their places, secured in their ancient cover, (as the work may now be seen) and the book preserved in its aged case, along with a Bull of a Roman Pontiff, which was found accompanying it.

"The volume contains fragments of the *Life of St. Patrick*, composed by different authors, most of them anonymous. It contains also the *Confession of St. Patrick*, or (to speak more properly,) his Letter to the people of Ireland, at that time just recently converted to the faith. It contains, also, the *Epistle written by S. Jerome to Pope Damasus* by way of introduction to his Version [of the Holy Scriptures.] It contains also ten Canons, [or, Tables,] in which are exhibited the Harmonies of the Evangelists with one another, and also brief *Accounts*, or *Explanations*, of each Evangelist separately; also, the *New Testament*, according to the Version, as I think, of S. Jerome, in which is to be found that Epistle to the Laodiceans, whereof mention is made to the people of Colosse. In the first Epistle of John, that Verse, *There are three that bear record in heaven, &c.*, is wanting. It contains also *Interpretations of the Hebrew names* which are met with in the several Gospels, together with various *Arguments*, by various authors, to each of the Gospels, and to almost every Epistle also. It contains, finally, the *Life of S. Martin*, bishop of Tours, (uncle, as it is said, of S. Patrick,) written by Sulpicius Severus. Note, that in the Gospel according to Matthew, there are some folios, four, as I judge, deficient, vizt., from the 33rd Verse of the Fourteenth Chapter, to Verse 5, of Chap. xxi. Note, likewise, that the Epistles of the Apostles are not arranged in the same order as they are commonly with us at this present day."

Thus far Lhwyd, as quoted by O'Connor and Petrie. The following additional observations of the latter author help to throw some further light on the history of the volume:—

"But though we have," says Dr. Petrie, "the high authority of S. Bernard for the belief, at the time, that the Gospels in this work were those possessed, or transcribed, by St. Patrick himself, the statement is as little entitled to credit, as, we may well believe, the other one of the Crozier having been originally that of our Lord. There is no part of the Manuscript older than the close of the seventh century, or perhaps than the eighth; and the leather case, made for its protection, is of still later date, its exact age being fixed by the following entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 937, of which period its ornaments are in my opinion, decidedly characteristic.

"A.D. 937. Canoin Patraic do cumhdach la Donnchadh, mac Flaith, ri Erend."

"A.D. 937. The Canoin-Patraic was covered by Donnchadh, [or, *Donogh*, R.K.] son of Flann, King of Ireland."

"It must not be supposed, however, that this leather case is itself the *cumhdach* [i.e. 'the cover,' R.K.] noticed by the Annalists, and, which, no doubt, like our other ancient cases for books, was formed of silver, and enriched with gems. This leather case was only the covering of that more precious box in which the Manuscript was enshrined, but obviously cotemporaneous with it, and made as much for its preservation, as to render it easy of carriage."—(*Round Towers, &c.*, pp. 331, 332.)

The veneration in which the *Canoin Phatraig* was held among the ancient Irish is further manifested in the following record (from the *Four Masters*) of the expulsion of a chieftain from the territory for dishonouring it, a few years after the coming of the English into Ireland:—

"A.D. 1179. O Rogan, lord of Iveagh [Co. Down,] died of a three nights' illness, after his expulsion for profaning the *Canoin-Phatraig*." *Round Towers, &c.*, p. 338.

The *Canoin Phadruig* has continued in the possession of the Brownlow family to the present day, the holder of it at this time, (and, as I believe, for several years past,) being William Brownlow, Esq., J.P., of Knapton, Abbeyleix, in the Queen's County. But in the extraordinary changes and vicissitudes of this world, it has, during the present year, 1853, found its way into a repository little imagined of by the old Coarbs of Patrick, or their friends the MacMoyres—it having been assigned a place in the Archæological department of the Great Exhibition, in Dublin, marked, like the vile wares of yesterday, "*for sale*."*

It is possible, however, and even probable, that the present is not the first time that this venerated relic of antiquity has been subjected to such a fate; as its companion relic, the *Bachall-Isa*, was obtained by purchase in the year 1135, and it is likely that the *Canoin Phadruig*, although not mentioned, may have been sold with it. In connection with this subject we find in the *Four Masters* what here follows:—

"A.D. 1134. Murtoth, son of Donnell, son of Awley, Coarb of Patrick, died after the victory of martyrdom and penitence [i.e. died penitent and triumphant, over much suffering, R.K.] on the 17th of September. Niall, son of Aedh, was appointed to the Coarbship of Patrick. A change of Abbots in Armagh [followed;] i.e. Maelmogue OMorgair in place of Niall. Maelmogue afterwards went on a visitation of Munster, and obtained his tribute.

"A.D. 1135. Flann Ua Sinaigh, Mayor, [or Warden,] of the *Bachall Isa*, died after choice penitence.... Maelmogue OMorgair, Coarb of Patrick, purchased the *Bachall-Isa*, and took it from its cave on the seventh day of the month of July.

"A.D. 1137. The visitation of Munster [was made] by Maelmogue OMorgair Coarb of Patrick. A [another] change of Abbots [occurred] in Armagh, viz. [the substitution of] Niall, son of Aedh, in place of Maelmogue."

Of the philosophy of the history contained in these extracts, the reader may be easily put in possession. Niall was, according to all Irish ideas, the lawful successor, the 'Tanist-Abbot,' who rightfully came to the office of the Coarb, or Abbot, on the death of Murtoth. But Maelmogue, or Malachy, who had a strong party of supporters in the interest of the Roman Church, immediately procured the rescinding of Niall's appointment, and the substitution of himself as abbot. And to gain some influence over the opposing party, he managed to buy the 'Staff of Jesus,' a proceeding which Father Colgan does not trouble himself to communicate to the readers of his learned work; as not being anxious, I suppose, to give any unnecessary publicity to so nearly simoniacal a mode of securing to himself the title to the Irish Primacy, on the part of one to whose influence the Church of Rome is so largely indebted for the establishment of her authority in Ireland. Not much more canonical, however, was Malachy's other, and strongest, hold on the Coarbship, derived from the *Will* of his predecessor Kellach, which had bequeathed to him that office.

But whether Malachy bought the *Canoin Phadruig* along with the *Bachall-Isa*, the Four Masters in their short and simple notice of the transaction, (above cited,) do not inform us. As, however, it appears, both from their testimony, and from that of S. Bernard, that the struggle between the rival parties continued for some three years, (i.e. from A.D. 1134, to 1136,) in which latter year Niall appears to have taken advantage of Malachy's absence in Munster, to secure his own reinstatement for a short time, in the Coarbship,) it would seem not unlikely that Niall, although selling the *Staff*, may have kept the *Canoin* by way of retaining, at least in part, his title to the office for which he was contending. At all events, according to Bernard's account, Malachy, in one way or another, became ultimately possessed of all the *Coarb's-mionna*, at least of all of them which were considered of sufficient importance to be worth struggling for. Instead of the brief notice of the sale of the *Bachall-Isa* supplied by the Four Masters, the more flowery account of Malachy's success in gaining possession of it, given by S. Bernard, reads as follows.—On Malachy's coming to reside in Armagh as bishop.

* Since the above was written, the *Canoin Phadruig* has become the property of "an individual in the Province of Armagh, who has the heart to love it, the sense to prize it, the patriotism to cherish it, and the cash to pay for it; in whose hands" as the communication conveying this intelligence to the present writer goes on to suggest, "it is hoped that it will not be an unproductive deposit."—Still it could be desired, after all, that it had found its way to its most appropriate repository, among the archives preserved in the registry of "the Coarbs of Patrick" in his own city. The *Canoin Phadruig*, we may add, bears in it the signature of Brian Boru, who was King of Ireland 850 years ago. On the occasion of the recent visit of her Majesty Queen Victoria to the Dublin Exhibition, her attention was specially drawn to the Volume, in presence of Drs. Todd, Petrie, &c.; and one of the company of her Majesty Queen Victoria, it seems, was anxiously endeavouring to suggest, that her Majesty should be invited by one of these learned men to insert her autograph also in the book, along with that of the old Irish Prince. But the party to whom the suggestion was attempted to be made, showed little inclination to act upon it; from an instinctive dislike, perhaps, to the practice of scribbling names in borrowed books, and an idea that the handwriting of old Brian was a sufficiently modern royal entry for a volume of such a description.

"His purpose was, to hunt down the schismatic aforesaid, seeing that he was seducing numbers, by means of the *insignia* which he bore with him, persuading them all that he was the one who ought to be bishop, and in this way stirring up the people against Malachy and the Church's unity. And this purpose he carried out; and without difficulty, hedged round, in a short time, so closely, all his paths, through the grace given him of God, and the influence he had with all classes of persons, that his evil-minded opponent was obliged to submit, give up the *insignia*, and keep quiet afterwards in all subjection.

According to the more trustworthy account of the Irish Annals, Niall's party, after the sale of the *Bachall-Isa*, in 1134, did not keep altogether quiet, in all subjection, ever after; they having, as aforesaid, procured in, 1136, the substitution of Niall once more into the abbatial office, although only to be deposed again within the same year. He was succeeded by the famous Coarb Gelasius, or *Gilla-mac-Liagg*, who occupied the office at the time of the Anglo-Norman Invasion, and made, in the year 1172, "a full visitation circuit, (*lan cuirt*) for the fourth time, of the Province of Connaught."

"By this time," says Dr. Reeves, "the influence of the English began to be felt in the Irish Church, and changes assimilating its discipline to that in the sister country were made wherever they obtained a footing. Accordingly, the metropolitan jurisdiction became better defined, and the whole cathedral system underwent a reform. The intimacy with the see of Rome also became more strict, and rescripts, as disputes or difficulties might arise, were received, defining the powers and duties of the various classes of prelates, so that by degrees the relative authority of primate, metropolitan, and suffragan, became adjusted according to the prevailing system in the Roman Church. Thus, in 1255, a bull of Pope Alexander IV. provided that the Archbishop of Armagh should visit the province of Tuam every five years, and continue 27 days in the visitation, instead of the septennial visitations, in which the continuance was unlimited. This privilege was published in a provincial Synod at Drogheda, convened in 1262, by Patrick O'Scanlain the, Primate. In 1461, Primate Bole issued a citation to the Archbishops and Suffragans of Tuam, to attend him at a visitation in the metropolitan church on a certain day; and in the same year a similar citation to the Archbishop of Cashel and his suffragans, as subject to him and the Church of Armagh by primatial right. This systematic mode of visitation most probably arose out of the desultory circuits anciently made by the Abbots of Armagh, whose right to levy contributions was extended in their successors to a cognizance of ecclesiastical discipline."—(Colton's Visitation of Derry, pp. x, xi.)

From the time when the Anglo-Roman Church influence began to extend itself through Ireland, we find but few notices of the 'Coarbs of Patrick' in the Irish Annals, and we cease, from the Twelfth Century onwards, to read of any of them 'going on visitation circuits, and obtaining their full tribute,' in the old Irish style. Yet it seems not unlikely, that on the first appointment of diocesan bishops in the country, and for a long time afterwards, especially in the more Irish parts, these prelates may have derived a considerable part of their support from such visitations. The Irish were naturally given to hospitality, and ready to entertain strangers. It would be a variety, in their distant wilds, to have a visit from the great man, the ecclesiastical dignitary, the official who had influence, more or less, according to circumstances, with the great governments of Rome and England; and, accustomed as they were to supplying, sometimes forcibly extorted, entertainments, to their oppressive secular chieftains, they would much more willingly, it is to be supposed, be prepared to render services of the kind to one that had a claim on their religious affections, and whose office, (to say the least of it,) must have had some connection in their minds with the name of the Great Head of the Church, and with the memories of their ancient saints.

The nearest idea, in some respects, to that of the old *Riar Pattraice*, or coarbal visitation tribute, which meets us in the records of the *Anglo-Roman period* of Irish Church History (i.e. from the Invasion to the Reformation,) is that comprehended under the name of the *Office of St. Patrick*, or as the Latin (*Officium Sancti Patricii*) might perhaps be rendered, 'St. Patrick's Duty,' or 'Dues.' This was a tribute collected, during those ages, in the dioceses of Armagh and Meath, (including Clonmacnoise,) of which frequent mention occurs in the Primatial Registers. It appears to have been, indeed, originally received from the whole Province; but where collectors are appointed for gathering it in, the two dioceses above-mentioned alone are parcelled out among them; or rather, not the entire even of those two dioceses, but the parts of them that were *inter Anglicos*, 'within the English pale,' or included in that portion of the country where the English government and English law held sway. Though the tax was collected in the name of St. Patrick, the Irish were so little inclined probably to the payment of it to a Coarb of the Anglo-Roman connection, that it was not worth the trouble of looking after in their portion of the Province. So, while collectors were appointed for the Deaneries of Drogheda, Dundalk, and Ardee, as being within the Pale, there was no 'Proctor of the Office of St. Patrick' for that of Tullyhog.

Some light is thrown on the nature of the tax now mentioned by an Act of Primate Swayne, dated April 1, 1429, appointing John Nugent his Collector of the impost. The Act in question commences thus:—

"To all sons of Holy Mother Church, who shall see or hear this present letter, John &c. [wisheth] eternal salvation in the Lord.

"Be it known unto you all, that we have made, ordained, and constituted in our stead, John Nugent, to be, for us and our Church of Armagh, our proctor and special agent, with full power to receive in our name and that of our Church of Armagh aforesaid, from the faithful people of Christ resident in all places whatsoever of our Province of Armagh, as well the firstlings of their flocks,—given by way of oblation or donation to our said Church of Armagh, and to our predecessors and ourselves, from the ancient devotion of the faithful in honor of our benign Confessor St. Patrick,—as also any other pious Alms whatsoever, of the faithful, which may be given, presented, or bequeathed, to our Church of Armagh aforesaid, &c."

The document then goes on to urge on all Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Rectors, &c. &c., to assist the said John in the objects of his Commission, on pain of Excommunication. But it intimates withal that no small opposition was raised against the levying of such contributions throughout the Province; "Sundry of our subjects and subordinates, as we have heard, resident in divers places throughout our said Province, have dared nefariously to appropriate, both the firstlings of the flocks, and the other matters aforesaid, given as oblations, pious donations, or bequests, to ourselves and our said church, not only applying them, as in some cases, to their own private and nefarious purposes, and collecting them *de facto*, [i.e. 'actually,' as opposed to *de jure*, 'rightfully' R.K] and disposing of the same according to their own pleasure, but even, to speak more truly, creating impediments, and procuring and soliciting others to opposition, with a view to hindering the premises from being duly levied by our proctors, and applied, as they should be, to our purposes, and those of our church afterwards." All such hinderers of his work Primate Swayne orders to be denounced excommunicate.

A portion of the 'St. Patrick's Office,' or 'Dues,' was known by the name of '*Patrick's Ridges*,' which would seem to imply certain ridges of corn, one or more in each field, set apart for the use of the Church of Armagh. Connected with them, we find in Primate Cromer's Register a process dated August 16, 1521, relating to a case before the Primate's Court, in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, part of which is to this effect:—

William Fager, of Termonfeghin, substitute of Maurice Colean, of Dromiskin, Proctor of St. Patrick's Office for the Deanry of Drogheda, applies to have Thomas Daw, of Termonfeghin, decreed excommunicate, and denounced accordingly, in pursuance of the Provincial Statutes of the Metropolitan Church of Armagh, and the course of Procedure appointed to be employed against all resisters of the Office aforesaid, and that he should be otherwise canonically punished, for and because that he, the aforesaid Thomas, is withholding, and appropriating to himself, *St. Patrick's Ridges*, as they be commonly called, otherwise the ridges promised by the said Thomas in honor of St. Patrick, and for that he doth so molest likewise, and impede, the said William, substitute, (as is premised) of the aforesaid Proctor Maurice, as that he is unable to receive and dispose of the said Ridges or Furrows, &c."—[The defendant in this case was brought to submission, and the trial ended in an amicable settlement of the plaintiff's demand with costs.]

Some additional information relative to the *Ridges* is furnished us in Mason's learned *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*,

Dublin, from which it appears that the tribute in question was not wholly peculiar to the Province of Armagh. At page 71 of Dr. Mason's work, we find the following Note on the subject :—

"Among the duties reserved in ancient leases, that denominated 'Ridges' occurs frequently: it appears probable that the service of a certain number of days in harvest, to which the lord was entitled, became commuted, and the duty ascertained by the measure of the space in preference to that of time; hence a ridge of work in sowing or reaping became, by mutual consent, a substitute for the service of one or more days.

"On the 10th of May, 1550, the Warden and Procurators of the parish Church of St. Patrick leased the ridges of corn called 'St. Patrick's Ridges,' throughout the diocesses of Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, and Kildare, and the Deanries of Omurthy, Rathmore, and Salmon-Leap, for three years, at Six Marks Irish per annum. *Rot. Pat. 4 Ed. VI. dorso.*

"Sir Adam Loftus, proctor in 1594, gives credit for the sum of £6 13 4 repd for St. Patrick's Ridges: and James Ussher, proctor in 1606, has in his receipts for that year inserted as follows:—

"Item. St. Patrick's ridges for Kilkenny	£2 13 4
"Item. St. Patrick's ridges for the deanrye of Morphye, the Nase and Kildare	2 0 0
"N.B. St. Patrick's Ridges from henceforth set to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Bolger for £6 13 4 Ir. per an.	
"Item. Mr. Robinson to pay an organist during his life £10 Irish per annum.—(<i>Ex Orig. penes Decanum.</i>)	

"The rural Deanries of Dublin Diocess which we find mentioned in the document above recited are those most remote from Dublin, but nearest to Glendaloch. Their being subject to this contribution, when those more adjacent to the metropolis were not, might possibly arise from their being included in the diocese of Glendaloch." [How, is not explained by Dr. M.] See *Mason's Hist. of St. Patrick's*, p. 71.

Dr. Elrington in his *Life of Ussher*, p. 69, quotes a letter of Thomas Moygne, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, congratulating Ussher, (in 1625,) on his promotion to the primacy of all Ireland, and expressing his hopes that the arrangement so made would prove beneficial to the temporal, as well as the spiritual, interests of the Church. Complaining of the injuries inflicted on the former in those times, Moygne, among other observations of the sort, introduces in that letter, these which follow:—"Impropiators in all places may hold all ancient customs; only they upon whom the cure of souls is laid are debarred [i.e. from securing the profits owing to them from such their ancient rights, R.K.] St. Patrick's ridges, which you know belonged to the fabric of that Church, are taken away, &c. &c."

On this Dr. Elrington remarks, that "from the letter of the Bishop of Kilmore, it appears that these Ridges had been only lately taken away from the Church, in 1625." We may add, that never was the contribution in question, or some other such, more needed than at present, to secure from fast progressing ruin 'the fabric of that Church:' the feeble attempts towards its repair and restoration, on the part of a few zealous persons, (the present Dean, &c.) sufficing rather to call attention to the advance of decay in the building generally, than to exhibit any thing like a due care on the part of the wealthier classes in Dublin, for the preservation of the finest monument of ecclesiastical antiquity which adorns their metropolis.

The whole "Office of St. Patrick," as well as 'the Ridges,' appears to have been at times farmed out by certain individuals, by contract, to make what they could of it for their own benefit, on payment of a certain sum to the Primate. Thus, we have in Primate Cromer's Register the following notice of

The Setting of the Office of St. Patrick for A.D. 1533.

- "First. To Dermot Duncan, of Screen, the Deanries of Duleek, Ratoath, and Screen, at 15 Marks [i.e. £10] with the Fees of Court.
- "Item. To William Kyraty [Geraghty?] of Trim, the Deanry of the same, at 7 Marks, with Fees for the Stamp and Engrossing.
- "Item. To Peter Leyns, of Knock, the Deanries of Clonard, Fore, Ardnuicher, Loughseudy, and Mullingar, and the Bishopric of Clonmacnoise, for 17 Marks, with Fees for the Stamp and Engrossing.
- "Item. To John McLoughlin, the Deanries of Drogheda, Ardee, and Dundalk, for 18 Marks, with Fees for Stamp and Engrossing.
- "Item. To Richard Ledwich, of Kells, the Deanries of Kells and Slane, for 9 Marks, with the Fees of Court.

Thus the Twelve Rural Deauries of Meath, as at present numbered, were farmed out to four Collectors, at a rent, for the whole, of 48 Marks;—while the three Rural Deanries of Armagh *inter Anglicos* were allocated to a fourth Collector, at 18 Marks. And the value of the whole 'Office of St. Patrick' to the Primate, for the year 1533, appears to have been 66 Marks, or £44. The Primatial Registers contain many entries of the 'Setting of the Office' for different years, the latest as far as I have observed being A.D. 1554. Such entries or *memoranda*, however, generally include merely the names of the different persons to whom the several districts were allocated, without mentioning on what terms; as though they did not farm the revenue in question for themselves, but collect it for the Primate, in those cases.

But it was not only the *income* derivable from entertainments, or from the various forms of tribute and offerings, which had been enjoyed by the ancient Coarbs of Patrick, that the early metropolitan archbishops of Armagh, in the Anglo-Roman times, endeavoured to secure for themselves. The establishment of their *power and authority*, by drawing into their own hands whatever of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and influence had been formerly exercised by those dignitaries, was an object of (if possible,) still greater consequence, as less easy to be compensated for from other sources, in so far as they might fail to attain to it on the strength of ancient precedent. And not only did they succeed in coming to occupy, in some of its most important aspects, the high position of authority that had once belonged to the old Coarbs in Armagh; but they seem gradually to have gained for themselves and their suffragans, a power of interference, at least in many cases, with the coarbs and erenachs of the province generally, and a power of control over the possessions in their hands, and over the septs of which they were the heads, of which we read nothing in the history of the early Abbots of Armagh. Once that persons of their influence, and supported as they were, by that of Rome and England, had obtained a footing in the country, it was easy for them in the first instance, to increase whatever income they had from their portion of the tithes, by drawing to themselves, as claimants by divine right of the highest ecclesiastical authority over the people, some part, at least, of those tributes and offerings which the Irish laity had been wont to dedicate to the support of religion in their country. The lands held by the Coarbs and Erenachs, as known to have once belonged in some sense or other to the Church, would naturally be held liable to contribute to their maintenance 'a double honor.' Their patronage and protection was worth having, worth being paid for, even at a costly price, by men whose right to appropriate the Termon lands wholly 'to their own profane and nefarious purposes' was at best questionable. And if any of them proved sceptical as to the value of such patronage, an 'invocation of the aid of the secular arm' by the primates, with a specification at the same time of the particular arm appealed to, O'Neill, or O'Kane, or some other, as the case might be,—a remedy often exemplified in the Primatial Records, would soon suffice to convince the refractory coarb or erenach of his mistake, and reduce him to obedience. Nor would the chieftain who was addressed on the subject be slow to act on the invitation, (unless where partiality towards a friend might interfere,) seeing that to him the idea of a raid over the territory of neighbour or subordinate was spice and honey, and the notion of 'a plundering exhibition,' (somewhat less interesting and attractive, perhaps, from its common-place character and familiarity to his mind,) would acquire a little variety from being undertaken in the service of religion, and with the sanction and patronage of the chief prelate of his church, the great man who was the friend of England and Rome.

And then, for the purpose of identifying in a legal way the proper person, who as rightful coarb or erenach, was entitled to episcopal favor and protection in his office, deeds and leases would have to be drawn out and registered in due form, to con-

stitute afterwards, in the ecclesiastical courts, the titles whereby such coarb or erenach should be recognised as the lawful holder of his lands. The real title, to be sure, by which he held them, was the election of his sept, a title not easily to be quashed by any proceedings of the Church Courts; but still, the *addition* of a charter or lease from the bishop, might, in many cases, help to save one willing to receive it, from trouble and litigation; and if it did little good, it seemed capable, still less, of doing harm, according to the ideas of men knowing or caring so little as the Irish did about any Anglo-Norman law precedents. From the granting of such charters, or leases, to confirm to men what was already their own, and secure to the granters of them, at the same time, such tributes and fees as the other party might be willing to promise and engage themselves to, it was an easy step to gain the right of arbitration, in all doubtful cases, between rival claimants of the *coarbs* or *erenachies*, and the further right of assigning the lands to a new sept, in any case where the family to which they had belonged might become extinct. And in the renewing of these leases from time to time, opportunity would no doubt occur for enlarging the episcopal privileges connected with them, and increasing the church's new interest in the lands for which they were given. Encroachment would be specially easy in cases where opposing claimants might be tempted to outbid each other for the bishop's patronage.

Of the Leases, or '*Letters, of Erenachies,*' and Coarbs, now referred to, many are still extant, preserved in the Primatial Registers of Armagh and elsewhere, some of which have been published in the Works of Ussher, Ware, Spelman, &c. Nor will it be out of place to introduce one or two specimens of such documents in this memoir, in illustration of the position occupied by the Coarbs and Erenachs relatively to the bishops, in the Anglo-Roman ages.

The following form contains the grant of an Erenachie made by Milo Sweteman, Archbishop of Armagh, in the year 1365:—

"To all Sons of Holy Mother Church who shall see or hear this letter, Milo, by the grace of God, and of the Apostolic See, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, [wisheth] Everlasting Salvation in the Lord.

"Be it known unto you all, that we, with the unanimous assent and consent of our Dean and Chapter of Armagh, have given, granted, and by this our present deed confirmed, to our beloved in Christ, William and Arthur MacBryn, sons of Master Arthur MacBryn, the undernamed lands in our tenement of Kilmor, which the said Master Arthur at present holds of us, vizt., Teachrana, &c. to have and to hold, the said lands, with their due appurtenances, in hill and dale, &c. which lands, and which appurtenances, the said Master Arthur has been accustomed to hold, with all roads and paths, meadows and pastures, and all freedoms and free customs, belonging to the lands aforesaid, according to the due and ancient limitations of those lands, to be possessed by them with full right of *Erenachie* in the entire tenement of Kilmore, for us and our successors, during their lives, or the life of any one of them, so long as they shall prove acceptable and obedient, and each of them prove acceptable and obedient, to ourselves, to our Church of Armagh, and to our Successors and Officials, and so long as they, or he, shall cultivate the said lands, and shall not make them over to be cultivated, partially or totally, by any layman not belonging to them: saving, nevertheless, the right of the charter granted to the said Arthur in connection with the same lands, for the whole life of the said Master Arthur; which charter we wish, during his life, the present charter notwithstanding, to remain in full force. The said William and Arthur, sons of Master Arthur aforesaid, and any one of them who may survive, paying thereupon, annually, to us and our Successors, One Mark, and Eight Pence sterling, at the Feasts of the Apostles Philip and James, and All Saints, in equal portions, together with such other burdens and services as are thence due and customary. In testimony whereof our Seal, and the Common Seal of our Chapter aforesaid, are appended to these presents. Dated at Down, the 21 day of the month of November, Anno Domini, 1365." (Elrington's *Ussher*, Vol. xi. pp. 436, 437.)

Thirty years after this date, when Primate Colton visited Derry, as we have already seen, on arriving at Cappagh, on his way, he met there the Vicar of the Church, who was also its Erenach, having shortly before obtained a *Charter of the Erenachie* from the Primate as Custodee of the Bishopric of Derry, during the vacancy of the See. The Charter there mentioned is not, however, now known to be extant. In the Visitation then held in Derry the Primate exercised the right of inspecting and examining '*Charters and Letters of Erenachies, &c.*' as well as the Titles of Dignities, Benefices, &c., which were held by the Clergy of the Diocese.

The Church of Drumachose, beside Newtownlimavady, in the Co. Derry, appears to have derived its origin from the famous Saint Cainnech, (Kenny,) or Canice, from whom Kilkenny also is named, and who was born in the neighbourhood of Drumachose. For its superiors, as appears in various instances, were anciently called the *Coarbs of Cainneach in Keenaght*; the latter name being still known as that of the barony in which Drumachose is included. These Coarbs, at the end of the Fourteenth Century, were of a family named MacTeigue, several members of which are mentioned in our Records as having successively filled the office. For Augustin MacTeigue was 'collated' to it by Primate Milo Sweteman, in 1367. After him succeeded John MacTeigue, son to Augustin; on whose death again, Primate Fleming collated Odo, or Hugh, (*Aodh*) MacTeigue, to the same office, by an instrument which (translated from the Latin original,) reads as follows:—

"Nicholas, by divine permission Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, to our beloved in Christ, Master Odo MacTeigue, Canon of the Church of Derry, greeting, grace, and benediction.

"We collate you, of our charitable affection, to the Rectory of the Parish Church of Drumgossa, *alias* of Ro, [so called from the river *Roe*, which runs near it, not *Re*, as Harris has it, R.K.] in the Diocese of Derry, known as a *Comorbanship*, [or *Coarbs*hip,] vacant by the death of Master John MacTeigue, the last Rector and Comorban [or, Coarb] thereof, and belonging for this turn to our Collation by right of Lapse, and we invest you with the same, and authoritatively institute you therein by delivery of our ring, decreeing that you are to be instituted really into the actual possession of the said rectory or comorbanship, with all its rights, and appurtenances whatsoever, or supposed appurtenances, and defended in your possession of the same:—in Testimony whereof our seal is appended to these presents. Given at Dundalk, the 26th day of the Month of October, A.D. 1406, and of our Consecration, the 3rd Year." (See *Harris's Ware*, vol. ii. P. 1. cap. xxxv, p. 233. Reeves's *Colton*, p. 39, and *Antt.* p. 374.)

The following confirmation from a *Bisyp of Kilmore* to one of his Erenachs is also worth giving here. It has been already printed by Dr. Reeves, in its original Latin form, (as taken from Swayne's Register,) at p. 26 of his *Acts of Archbishop Colton, &c.*

"To all the faithful of Christ who shall see or hear this letter, Donat, by the Grace of God and of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Triburnia [i.e. Kilmore diocese, R.K.] eternal health in the Lord.

"Be it known unto you all, that whereas by the death of the late Muran O'Farally, of worthy memory, Comurban and principal Herenach of all the lands of the sept [nationis] of Munter-farally, the said Comurbanship and erenachie is at present rightfully and actually vacant, We, Bishop Donat aforesaid, give, grant, and by this our present Charter confirm, that Comurbanship, [or, Coarbship,] of the Church of St. Medoc of Drumlane, of our Diocese, and the *Erenachie* of the said lands, with all the lands, natives upon them, and all other emoluments of right or custom appertaining to the same, to our beloved in Christ Nicholas O'Farally, clerk of said Diocese, and native of said lands,—including the arable parts, and the non-arable, hill and dale, pastures, meadows, grass, woods, fisheries, mills, and all other their appurtenances universally, and with all their limitations, belonging, of right or custom, to the said *Comurbanship*, and the *Erenachie* aforesaid;—to have and to hold them, from us and our Successors, as largely and liberally as ever his predecessors held, or ought to have held them, for a perpetual possession: He paying thereupon, to us and our Successors, such rents and tributes as are customary, as well as [being responsible for] all other burdens ordinary and extraordinary, and the services which are due and customary. Given at the Cemetery of the House of the Friars Minor of Cavan, of the Diocese aforesaid, the ninth day of the month of Sept. A.D. 1438."

One other specimen of these *Letters of Erenachie*, connected with the lands of Tynan, may be inserted here. It is indeed rather a *Confirmation of an Erenachie*, to one that had been for some time in possession. The Latin original, here translated, may be seen (as taken from the Register of Primate Mey,) in *Ussher's Works*, (by Elrington,) vol. xi. pp. 38, 4439,

"To all sons of Holy Mother Church, to whom this present letter shall come, John, by divine permission, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, [wisheth] everlasting Salvation in the Lord.

"Be it known unto you all, that upon the statement and supplication made before us, by our beloved son Patrick Mackassaid, [Cassidy?] Herenach of Tynan, to the effect, that he hath of old obtained from our predecessors, (as his progenitors likewise did belong to us,) the Herenachie of Tynan, and our lands there, which we have deemed it proper to specify in full, according to their several parcels, as vulgarly named, in these presents,—he having become duly possessed of the same by charter,—and that he desireth our confirmation of his ancient right, and a new investiture with the same from us, to the end that he may thus be able more firmly and securely to abide therein; We, for certain lawful causes influencing us in this behalf, consenting with benevolent and gracious dispositions to such supplication on his part, do not only confirm and secure to him by the protection of the present deed, all such right as he hath ever heretofore become possessed of, by grants and charters, and consequences flowing from them, in the Herenachie and lands aforesaid, and their appurtenances, ratifying the same right in its full force;—but we have also, in such mode and form as the nature of our own investiture doth require, with the unanimous consent of our Dean and Chapter of Armagh, given and granted, and do by this our present charter confirm, to Patrick Mackassaid aforesaid, our lands of Tynan, specified as followeth, according to their several parcels, by their vulgar names, as aforesaid, vizt., &c. with their appurtenances and ancient limitations; to have and to hold, for himself and his heirs, from us and our successors, the said lands, with their parcels, appurtenances, and limitations aforesaid, upon payment therefrom, to us and our successors, annually, at the Feasts of All Saints, and the Apostles Philip and James, in equal portions, Five Marks and Two Shillings sterling, of good and legal money of England, with such other burdens, ordinary and extraordinary, as are therefrom due and customary,—so long as the said Patrick, and his heirs, shall prove acceptable, faithful, and obedient, to us, and our successors and officials, and shall inhabit the said lands, and cultivate them, and shall not assign them over to any layman not belonging to them, to cultivate, and shall faithfully and fully pay, in their due seasons, the rents, services, and burdens aforesaid. Otherwise, if they shall, at any due term of payment, prove defaulters in regard to the premises, be it lawful for us and our successors to dispose of the said lands, the grant aforesaid notwithstanding in any wise, saving always the right of any other [party concerned.] Nevertheless, it is not our purpose, in these our grant, constitution, and ordinance, to include any thing derogatory to our power, or that of our successors, in regard to a new entry, (*novo introitu*) connected with a new grant or investiture, whensoever there may be occasion for it. In testimony whereof, our Seal, together with the Common Seal of our Chapter aforesaid, is appended into these presents.—Given at Armagh, the ninth day of August, A.D. 1455, and of our Consecration, the Twelfth Year.

Here the Erenach had been in possession of old. Yet he is induced, in the twelfth year of Mey's primacy, to take out a Confirmation, and new investiture, "to the end that he may thus be able more firmly and securely to abide" in possession of his lands, by means of the title so established in the office of the ecclesiastical conveyancer of those days. And it must be admitted, that such kind of procedures must have tended (whether on principles of the strictest justice or not, we need not enquire,) to promote the settlement of the property involved in them, in times when change, encroachment, and spoliation, were the common order of the day, among high and low alike. Nor was there, probably, any other property in the country, that descended from hand to hand, as generations moved away, one after another, on its surface, in such an orderly course of hereditary possession, as that which was held by the coarbs and erenachs.

The Primate had, it seems, in A.D. 1455, a rent secured to him out of the Erenach lands of Tynan, amounting to 'Five Marks and Two Shillings sterling, i.e. £3 8s. 8d. But as to the language employed in the legal instrument above-cited, calling them 'our lands of Tynan' we cannot conclude from it that those lands had ever belonged to any of the metropolitan archbishops of Armagh, but only to the Church, of the chief jurisdiction in which they had become possessed. The phrase is somewhat analogous to that of 'our Church of Armagh' in the Kilmore Charter already given; the said Church of Armagh being so imperfectly under the control of the Anglo-Roman Primates of that age, that its very Dean and Chapter, 'our Dean and Chapter,' aforesaid, were 'mere Irish,' whom they could perhaps have cordially wished at the Antipodes, had they known of such a region, and could they have substituted for them anymore thoroughly trusty lieges of the English Monarch and Roman Pontiff. And as to the ancestors of Patrick Macassaid, or the individual himself, having obtained his Erenachie originally by charter or deed from the predecessors of Primate Mey, if such were the case, it was most probably from some of those old Coarbs of Patrick, who lived before the introduction of metropolitan ecclesiastical jurisdiction into the province.

The Confirmation of an Erenach in his office was, however, after all, but a trifling exercise of power on the part of one who enjoyed a like privilege in connection with the inauguration of the native princes of his territory, one whose predecessors had exercised a like prerogative, ages before, in regard to the appointment of even the chief monarchs of their 'Northern Half' of the island. A Record preserved in Prene's Register, and bearing date within five days of that last cited, will furnish an interesting example of the exercise of the prerogative now spoken of. This Record reads as follows:—

"MEMORANDUM, that on the Fourth day of August, Anno Domini, 1455,—after Eugene O'Neill, [i.e. Owen,] Captain of his Nation, seeing his bodily strength to have altogether failed, had recently resigned, so as that another might be elected to reign over his Charge and Dominion in his stead,—his first born son Henry, having been thereupon elected for Captain and Principal of his Nation, made his personal appearance before our Lord the Primate, in the Office or Hall of his then residence, in the Monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul in Armagh, stating his election, and that his Institution to his temporal dominion appertained to him, his lord the Primate: for which cause he made earnest petition to receive from the said Lord his Institution and Confirmation.

"And the said Lord, believing him likely to prove a worthy man, and useful to his Church, and to the people of Ulster, ratified and approved his Election as O'Neill, the Captain and principal of his Nation, and confirmed the same before all there present, clergy and laity, of whom there was a copious multitude, and among them the said old O'Neill, who offered no contradiction to the proceeding."

The transaction which gave occasion for the above Memorandum is thus briefly noticed by the Four Masters in their Annals.

"A.D. 1455. Owen O'Neill was deposed from his lordship by his own son, Henry, son of Owen. The Coarb of Patrick, Maguire, MacMahon, O'Kane, and all the Clanna-Neill, accompanied Henry son of Owen, son of Niall Oge, to Tullyhog, to inaugurate him, and they gave him the title of O'Neill, according to the lawful mode of procedure."

"A.D. 1463. The King of England sent presents to O'Neill, (Henry, son of Owen,) vizt. eight and forty yards of scarlet [cloth,] and a gold chain, *et cetera*."

The preceding Memorandum, translated from the Latin Record of the Anglo-Romish repository, and the extracts which follow it, from Annals written in the Irish language, and compiled among the mere Irish, exemplify strikingly the manner in which those two very independent sources of Irish history are adapted to throw light on one another. And it is no wonder if the students of that history, who have learned to understand and value to some extent the curious mass of evidence on the subject made accessible to them by the publication of the *Annals*, (through the zealous exertions of those energetic individuals who have procured the accomplishment of such a ponderous undertaking,) should look anxiously for the day when the munificence of Ireland's chief prelate, (already exemplified in so many noble monuments,) or any other influence exercising itself under the same sanction, may place equally within the reach of historical enquirers, the not less curious and valuable store of materials for their purposes, contained in the ancient and voluminous primatial records of the period anterior to the Reformation.

We have hinted above, that the consecration of the native princes to their kingly office was no new privilege to be exercised by the Coarbs of Patrick in the Fifteenth Century. More than four hundred and fifty years previously, at A.D. 992 of the Annals, in a passage already quoted, (p. 32 sup.) occurs an example of a like transaction, where Muirechan, Coarb of Patrick, "conferred the degree of King, on Aedh, son of Donnell," prince of Aileach, near Derry, one of the provincial royal residences of Ireland. At an earlier period still, according to Adannanus and Keating, vizt., in A.D. 574, a like privilege was

exercised by St. Columkille, in the inauguration of Aidan, son of Gabhran, ruler of the Dalriedan province in Scotland, who was in that year 'ordained king' by the saint, in his island of Iona. And it is the opinion of Dr. O'Donovan, expressed in a note to that passage of the Annals relative to the Coarb Muriechan, just referred to, that "it is highly probable that the monarchs of Ireland, since the introduction of Christianity, were inaugurated by the Archbishop of Armagh."—He should, however, have said, "by the Coarbs of Patrick."

In addition to the rents and tributes, to the payment of which the Charters of Erenachies bound such as received them, there were also included in those charters, as we have seen, "other burdens, ordinary and extraordinary," for which the Erenachs became, at the same time, equally liable. As a specimen of such burdens, of the 'ordinary' kind, we may instance one for which the four churches of Kilmore, Derrynoose, Tynan, and Clonfeacle, were held responsible, vizt., that of providing for the transport of the Primate's Carriage, &c., whenever he had occasion to journey to or from Armagh. Connected with this usage, we find in Prene's Register a document exhibiting at once the existence of the custom (A.D. 1441,) and also the means which were employed for enforcing its observance, in any case where the parties concerned shewed a disposition to let it fall into disuse, which reads as follows:—

"Touching the Carriage of our Lord the Primate."

"John, &c. [at the Visitation of] our Diocese of Armagh, &c. To our beloved son in Christ Master, (*Domino*) Maurice O'Culean, Perpetual Vicar of Clonfeacle, in our Diocese aforesaid, Greeting, Grace, and Benediction.

"Whereas, according to the ancient and laudable usage of our Church of Armagh, heretofore, as we are fully informed, inviolably observed, whenever any occasion should occur for our predecessors, ourselves, or our successors, to visit our city of Armagh, four churches, vizt., Kilmore, Dyrinys, Twina, and Clonfekena, are bound to provide, through their Herenachs and Tenants, at their own expense and travail, both in regard to men and horses, for our Carriage, coming and going, as well as entertainment for ourselves and those with us; and the bearing of all burdens thence arising devolves on them in common and as a matter of right, even so as that they should be liable to payment in case we thought fit to have such our Carriage attended to by any other party;—and whereas in connection with our last coming to the place, we are liable, all calculations duly made, to a payment of 16s. for 16 horses, which came over with our said Carriage on that occasion, and six shillings of the said sum apportioned for payment according to the number of marks in the several rents, were assessed on the Herenach, and other Tenants and Occupiers of the lands of Clonfeacle:—You are therefore ordered, in virtue of your obedience, and on pain of Excommunication, and we straitly charge and command you by these presents, not only to serve notice relative to the premises, on the Principal Herenach, and on Thomas O'Culean, Simon Macgowud, Malachy O'Neill, Charles Macrory, and Aodh O'Neill, son of Maurice, Tenants and Occupiers of our lands of Clonfekena, but also publicly and openly to warn the said parties, when it shall be expedient, citing them, and every individual of them, to appear personally, or in other legitimate form, before us, in our Church of Armagh, on the Monday next coming after the date of these presents; not only to pay such proportion of the said sum as concerns each of the foregoing parties, in consequence of their not coming and arranging for our conveyance, but also to make satisfaction to us in full for the Rents of our lands held and occupied by them;—as we ourselves also do, in like manner, by the tenor of these presents, to the same effect warn and cite them, on pain of excommunication; which sentence we will that every one do incur actually, *ipso facto*, who contravenes, or does not obey, the present Monition. And what you shall have done in regard to the premises, be careful duly to certify us, with return of these presents, at the day and place aforesaid. Given under our Signet, the 26th Day of the Month of October, in the Second Year of our Consecration."

The services required of the Erenach and Subtenants of Clonfeacle and the other churches named in this document are evidently quite similar to those rendered to the bishops of Derry, and to their metropolitan, on occasion of his visitation, by the Erenachs and people of that Diocese, as already brought before our notice in connection with Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry. Nor can it be doubted that similar privileges were equally enjoyed by the bishops in other parts of Ireland in those days.

Besides the Letters, or Charters, of Erenachies, contained in the Primatial Records, there are various other instruments to be met with in them, of one form or another, in which the Erenachs and their office are brought under notice, (as in the one which precedes,) in such a way as to throw more or less light on their position and circumstances in the country; so that there can be no doubt, but that whenever that whole body of documents comes to be published, or otherwise rendered more accessible for general use than it *can* be in its present form, much additional knowledge will be available towards the understanding of this particular subject, as well as others connected with the history of our island. Of those documents referred to, in which mention is made of the Erenachs, the following is another specimen, from the same Register of Primate Prene:—

"Letter of Excommunication against the Detainers of an Erenach's Tenants in the country, contrary to his will."

"John, &c. On occasion of the Visitation, in person, of our Diocese of Armagh, to our beloved sons [the Dignitaries and Clergy generally of said Diocese,] &c. Greeting, Grace, and Benediction.

"Our beloved son, Bernard McKathmaill [i.e. McCaul, or Campbell, R.K.] Herenach of the Church of Errigal-Keerogue, hath presented to us his grievous complaint, stating that Donogh McGunsynan, and Terence, son of O'Neill, are, unlawfully, and contrary to the will of the said Herenach, detaining with them in the country Angelicus and his Sons, Tenants of the Church of Errigal aforesaid, so as that they are hindered from coming to reside with the said Herenach, and under his charge, and to cultivate their lands, and perform the duties incumbent on them, to the grave peril of their own souls, the detestable ill-example of others, and the no small damage, prejudice, and injury of the said Herenach thereupon; in consequence whereof he hath made most urgent supplication to us, that we should provide for his relief such remedy as may be suitable to the case.

"We therefore strictly charge and command you all, by the tenor of these presents, on pain of all canonical penalties, and of contempt also, *ipso facto*, should you fail to do as we command,—that, unless within an interval of nine days, allowed to precede as your term of monition, or rather, that which canonical order doth require, the aforesaid D. and T. discharge the said Tenants, leaving them at liberty to return to the said Erenach,—then, otherwise, no other canonical impediment standing in the way, you shall, for their unlawful detention of the said parties, by our authority and that of these presents, excommunicate them, and publicly, solemnly, and in every sense effectively, denounce them, and cause them, as you shall see expedient to be denounced, as having been, and being, excommunicate; causing them withal by the authority aforesaid, to be strictly avoided.

"And unless, after similar monition, Henry O'Neill, Captain of his Nation, shall, as their temporal lord, really oblige the said D. and T. his subjects, to the execution of the premises, as commanded, as beseemeth him to do, and as he is in duty bound, otherwise, he himself,—though the sentence be one which we do not believe him likely to merit,—is to be by you excommunicated and denounced in such form as is aforesaid; from which course of procedure you shall not desist, until you be otherwise duly commanded hereupon. Given at Armagh, under our Seal *ad causas*, in Testimony of the premises, the 17th day of June, Anno Domini 1458, and of our Consecration the Second Year." (*Prene, Tr. 45—47*)

The course of proceeding indicated in this record was a very common one in ordinary criminal cases in those days; theft, robbery, assaults, defamation of character, &c., which would now become the subject of investigation in the police courts, or before other higher civil tribunals, being then dealt with largely by the ecclesiastical magistrate and his officials. Numberless instances of such cases occur in the Primatial Registers, illustrating in their different particulars the customs and manners of the people, and the state of the country, in the times with which they are connected.

Let the reader have here one other specimen of the exercise of such magisterial influence on the part of those ancient primates, a specimen selected partly as occurring within a few pages of the record last cited—"Patrick O'Hegarty, layman, of Ballyscrene, * in the Diocese of Derry" complains to the Primate; that "certain children of iniquity, vizt., Bernard, Donald, and Conn, sons of Phelimy O'Neill, with their accursed gang of followers, had made a hostile invasion upon the said Patrick, and robbed and plundered him of 50 head of cows, to the grievous peril of their own souls, &c." The Primate thereupon issues his mandate for the excommunication of the parties concerned, dated from Termonfechin, April 1461, and directed to the Official and Clergy of the Deanry of Tullyhog; according to which, unless restitution were made of the plunder within nine

* 'Nicholas O'Hegirthay' was 'Rector of Balliscrine' in A.D. 1458.—(*Reeves's Antt.* p. 374,) nor is the name of the family even yet extinct in the parish.

days after monition, accompanied with revelation of all that the offender knew of the particulars of the outrage, the sentence of excommunication was thereupon to be denounced in full form by the clergy, as to take immediate effect, to be enforced by the secular Priuce of the country,—or otherwise, in case of his refusing to act the part assigned him, to include himself also, and to be followed by the more awful sentence of Interdict on his territory, in case he should persist in his disobedience,—as is intimated in the following portion of the mandate :—

“Otherwise, by our authority, and that of these presents, you, and each of you, shall in your churches, at such days and particular times as shall be most expedient, denounce, and cause to be denounced, openly, publicly, solemnly, and with all effect, the aforesaid Bernard, Donald, and Conn, and all other persons whatsoever chargeable with the premises, as having been, and being, one and all, by the Constitutions of our Church of Armagh aforesaid, excommunicate,—with bells rung, with candles lighted, and then, in detestation of those offenders, dashed upon the ground and trampled under foot, with cross erect, and all other juridical solemnity in such cases heretofore wont to be applied.

“And unless, after like admonition premised, Henry O'Neill, Captain of his Nation, shall force and compel, really and effectually, the aforesaid Bernard, Donald, and Conn, and their accomplices and followers, being his subjects, and under his dominion, to real satisfaction and restitution in the premises, and to the making of amends, as is premised, you shall then, otherwise, by our authority, excommunicate himself, and denounce him, and cause him to be denounced, effectually, as is premised, as having been, and being, excommunicate, with all his followers and abettors, favorers and counsellors, universally.

“And further, if the parties thus excommunicate and denounced, shall persevere (which heaven forbid!) in their obduracy for fifteen days, immediately following the nine aforesaid, We do by these presents now, as it were then, and conversely, declare all places whatsoever whither they may turn, and for the period of their stay, jointly or severally, in the same, to be placed under the Interdict Ecclesiastical, commanding such Interdict, on pain of all juridical penalties, to be inviolably observed by all, in so far as occasion shall require. Nor are you to desist herefrom, until you have received other orders from us by letter in this behalf.—Given under our Seal *ad causas*, in our Manor of Termonfechin, the 14 day of the month of April, Anno Domini, 1461, and of our Consecration the Fourth Year.”

To any professors of Christianity in those days, who were in the least under the influence of religious feeling, of the kind then in vogue, no sentence could be more awful and formidable than that of an Interdict; during the continuance of which, public worship, and all ordinary rites of the Church, with few exceptions, were strictly suspended in the proclaimed district.—No mass, no marriages, no other such religious services, were celebrated there. But the churches were closed against the living, and “the bodies of the dead were buried, like dogs, in the roads and ditches, without prayers or ministry of priests.” (Matt. Paris. *Hist. Angl.* an. 1208.) The use of this terrible weapon was very common in Ireland in the Anglo-Roman period of our history.

But what if O'Neill, or any other chieftain appealed to as ‘the secular arm,’ should himself prove refractory, and be slow to coerce his offending subjects in obedience to the archiepiscopal mandate? Had the Primates of those times any ulterior measures to fall back upon in that case, any artillery in reserve, of sufficient power to reduce the prince himself to terms of submission? Yes, the prelate was the friend and protégé of England; and the secular arm of her government might, as a last resource, be applied to support his authority. In the following “Letter Comminatory” the possible necessity of recourse to that extreme measure is with all distinctness introduced for the intimidation of a contumacious O'Neill.

“Letter Comminatory against O'Neill.

“John &c. to our son beloved in Christ, E. O. Captain of his Nation, Greeting, Grace, and Benediction.

“Considering that, as it hath been signified to us, you have, before the Lieutenant of our Lord the King, and his Council in the land of Ireland, made oath upon the Holy Gospels of God, and on the Staff of Jesus, [*super baculum Jesu*, i.e. on the Bachall-Isa,] in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, that you would, among other things, in so far as concerned yourself, or any of your sons, brethren, or kinsmen, discharge, and cause to be discharged, free, unencumbered, and unburdened, by you or them, the lands, possessions, chattels, and revenues, of our Church of Armagh, and that you would procure the payment of such arrears of revenue as remain unpaid, on your own part and theirs;—

“We, therefore, being accordingly desirous to see how far you mean to approve yourself diligent and faithful herein, send unto you our beloved Master Philip Mackewyn, commissioned not only to require diligently of you, on our behalf, the settlement of that which is owing from you herein, but also to certify us, if it should so happen, (which may God avert,) of your having failed to bring the matters premised before his return from your parts, to their due termination: on which certificate having been made, we shall not only, without fail, subject your entire dominions to Interdict, but also invoke against you and yours the *Secular Arm of our Lord the King of the English, and of those others of the Irish who are his lieges*. Nor shall we from such course desist, until you and your brethren, sons, and kinsmen, shall have made competent amends for all your misdoings to ourselves, and our Church of Armagh, and the Tenants of the same.

“And seeing that, although you wrote and promised us that Charles O'Mellan should exhibit before us his Title to the Deanry of our Church aforesaid, at the day and place last assigned for this purpose, and be prepared to stand by our Declaration in the matter, the said Charles in no wise appearing or exhibiting, we declared, as in justice bound, in favor of the full Right, Title, and Possession of Master [Domini] Denis O'Culean in the Deanry aforesaid;—as, therefore, you would avoid, as well such penalties as are attached to the sentences of Suspension and Excommunication, as those which follow that of an Interdict, such penalties, in particular, as are contained in the Processes Apostolic, and for the sake of restoring unity and peace to our Church of Armagh, which has now been so long the subject of sacrilegious disorder, and to its faithful subjects;—We require you by these presents, once, twice, and a third time, peremptorily, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to obey the said Master Denis as the undoubted Dean, and cause submission to be rendered to him, as his meet, from all your subjects whatsoever, with a full settlement of all rights belonging to him; and to do in like manner to our beloved Master (*Magistro*) John Leche, Prebendary of Clonfeka, and Canon of our Church above-mentioned, banishing Solomon O'Corre, there intruded, and his adversary, in pursuance of the adjudication made by authority of the Apostolic See in favor of the full right of the said John, as testified in the Letter and Processes Apostolic, and proceedings therewith connected, in that behalf,—as you desire to escape the censures and penalties which they enforce. And what you shall have been disposed to do in the several premises, be sure that you certify us by the said Master Philip, under your own Letters and indubitable Seal; so as that you may prove worthy to obtain the Blessing of Almighty God, the Benevolence of the Apostolic See, and our gracious and favorable consideration in all matters to be transacted between us.

“Given under our Seal *ad causas*, in our Manor of Termonfechin, the 16th day of June, in the Second year of our Consecration.” (Prene, Tr. 535—537.)

To enter with any fullness of detail into an account of the “sacrilegious disorders” in the Church of Armagh, of which this document makes mention, would lead us into a digression of greater length than can be conveniently admitted here: nor will the subject, perhaps, be much further within the reach of readers generally, until the copious materials for its elucidation to be found in the same repository from which the document in question is taken, be made to assume some more accessible form than at present, for use among those interested in such historical enquiries. We may, however, venture so far as to touch, within a very limited range, on some particulars of interest connected with the contents of the preceding “Letter Comminatory.”

In Prene's Register are given two curious records, which Dr. Reeves has printed in their original form at pp. 372—'4 of his *Antiquities of Down, &c.*, entitled respectively, “*The Deprivation of a Warden of St. Patrick's Bell for his Misdemeanors*,” and, “*The Sequestration of St. Patrick's Bell for the Misdemeanors of a Warden thereof*,” the first containing a Primatial sentence and Deprivation against John O'Mellan, one of the two joint-wardens who had the charge of the Bell at that time, and stating that it was to be kept by Patrick O'Mulholland, the other Warden, exclusively; and the second communicating to the latter a strict monition to keep the said Bell, and in no wise to give it up, on any account, to O'Mellan himself, nor to any person acting for him.

In the former of these two documents, dated from Dundalk, Trinity Monday, 1441, and addressed by the Primate to all the faithful of Christ, he gives them to understand, that “John O'Mellan, who acted as Captain of his Nation, and joint-warden

of the Bell of our most Blessed Patron, Patrick, as by permission of our Metropolitan and Primatial Church of Armagh, and of its Prelate for the time being, as officer in that behalf, and who was sworn to the said Church and Prelate, to render them fealty and obedience, and to take due order for the management and care of the Bell, so long as by the Church's disposition, will, and good-pleasure, he should be deemed worthy to have charge of the same, and also to render a faithful account of the revenues accruing from the privileges connected with the said Bell," had altogether failed in so doing, during the time of this Primate (Prene,) and his predecessor (Swayne, i.e. from A.D. 1417 to 1441, or for the portion of that interval during which O'Mellan had held the office,) and was therefore, for these and other sacrilegious doings of his, connected with church-lands, subjected to sentences of suspension, excommunication, and interdict: as he had been also "for the seven years preceding, subjected, by virtue of the apostolic authority" of the See of Rome, to similar sentences, for maintaining Charles O'Mellan intruded into the Deanry of Armagh. The Primate therefore decrees that "Patrick O'Mulholland, Captain of his Nation, the other joint warden" of the Bell, is to have the sole charge of it, and that no person, ecclesiastic or secular, is "to settle with the said John O'Mellan for any fruits, profits, customs, dues, perquisites, or emoluments, connected with the said Bell, but rather to regard him as altogether deprived of all his privileges, denuded, suspended, excommunicated, and interdicted, as above," and "to shun, and cause others to shun, his pestiferous damnable communion, with all accuracy," on pain of being subjected themselves to a full share in all the denunciations issued against him.

This Sentence of Deprivation appears to have gone forth in the same year with the preceding "Letter Comminatory." For although that Letter has not the year of our Lord named in it, yet both it and the sentence are alike dated "in the second year of our Consecration;" and the long-continued and "sacrilegious disorders" in the Church of Armagh, mentioned in the Letter, are partly explained, when we read, in the Sentence, of the seven years' quarrel connected with the intrusion of Dean O'Mellan, whom the 'Head of his Nation' would maintain in that office, and whom O'Neill would not eject from it, in spite of all the Primates' admonitions and comminations.

So far concerning the disputes alluded to in these records. The history of the Bell mentioned in them is also rather curious, and worthy of a somewhat further notice in this place.

The Bell of the Coarbs of Patrick, known as the Finnfaidheach, (or Fionnfaidheach,) of which mention has been made already in a preceding page, was, according to the Four Masters, plundered [from Armagh,] together with 'the Shrine of Patrick,' and 700 cows, by a body of marauders from Lower Iveagh in the Co. Down, in the year 1020. In the same year Armagh was all destroyed by a terrible conflagration, not a single house in it, saving the Library, having escaped the violence of the flames. Among the rest, "the Bell-tower, and its Bells," were burned also.

But the Coarbs could not do without a Bell. And one, reputed to have been St. Patrick's, or at least called by his name, one too that has become of greater fame than the Finnfaidheach itself, still remained to them, after all the losses just noticed. It was called the *Clog Uidheachta*, or *Clog an Uidheachta*, (pronounced *Clug-an-ee-ach-tha*,) and is the same with that of which we have just seen mention made in the Sentence, depriving John O'Mellan, "Captain of his Nation," of a share in its Warden-ship. The first notice of this Bell occurs at A.D. 522 of the *Annals of Ulster*, where there is introduced a curious legend connected with its discovery, which, in the old English translation of those Annals, reads thus;—

"A.D. 522. The Reliques of St. Patrick brought to [a] shrine 60 years after his death. Three precious *swearing reliques* [*minna*,] were found in the tombe, viz., the relique coach, [or, 'the Vial,'] the Angell's Gospel, and the Bell called *Clog Uidheachta*. The angell thus shewed to Columbkille how to divide these, viz., the Coach to Down, the bell to Armagh, and the Gospell to Columbkille himself; and it is called the Gospell of the Angell because Columbkille received it at the Angell's hand." (See the *Annals of the Four Masters*, by Professor O'Donovan, A.D. 552, Vol. I. p. 189. Note i.)

However little credence we may be disposed to give this narrative, it suffices to prove, at all events, that by those who received and circulated it, the *Clog-an-Uidheachta* was regarded as having always belonged to Armagh. And it also may account for the name given it, which signifies the 'Bell of the Will,' or 'the Bell of the Testament;' such a designation indicating that it was supposed to have been *bequeathed* by St. Patrick to the Church of his own city.

No further mention of 'the Bell of the Will,' (supposing it to have been different from the Finnfaidheach,) occurs in the Annals till we come to the year 1044, at which is recorded a transaction that sufficiently shews what an amount of solemn regard was then paid to this Bell, and with what formidable penalties it was thought proper to avenge the profaning of it. At the year in question the Four Masters have this entry:—

"A.D. 1044. A predatory excursion was made by Niall, son of Maeleachlainn, lord of Aileach [near Derry, the principal royal residence of the North of Ireland,] into Omeath and Cooley, [Carlingford parish, Co. Louth,] whence he carried off 1200 cows, and brought away numbers of captives, to revenge the profaning of the *Clog-an-Eadhachta*. Another predatory excursion was made by Murtoigh O'Neill into Mourne, whence he brought away a cattle spoil and prisoners, in vengeance for the profanation of the same bell."

The next historical notice that we meet with, of the *Clog-an-Uidheachta*, is one contained in an inscription still remaining on the Shrine, in which the Bell is now preserved, and in which it has been preserved since the beginning of the Twelfth Century. On this case, and on the bell itself, Dr. Reeves, in his *Antiquities of Down*, &c. (pp. 369, seqq.) has the remarks which follow:—

"The great attraction which this reliquary presents to the curious arises from the elaborately formed shrine in which it is contained, remarkable at once for its beauty and antiquity. Its age, which might be presumed, from its style of workmanship, to be very great, is determined by an inscription which is evidently coeval with the construction of the case. The letters, which are uncials, are engraved along the edge of a silver plate that covers the back, and, from the appearance which some of them present, seem to have been filled with a dark enamel." The Inscription itself, translated from the Irish original, reads thus;—

"A prayer for Donnell O Lachlainn, by whom this Bell [or, 'Bell-Shrine*'] was made, and for Donnell, Coarb of Patrick, with whom, [or, 'under whose inspection,'] it was made, and for Cahalan O Mulholland, Warden of the Bell, and for Cuduil O Immainen and his sons, who covered it."

The Donnell named as Coarb of Patrick in this Inscription, was appointed to the Coarbship, (as the Four Masters testify,) in A.D. 1091. And in his obit, which is entered at A.D. 1105, mention of the name of his friend Donnell O Lachlainn occurs in connection with his own, thus;—

"A.D. 1105. Donnell, son of Awley, noble Coarb (*ard-comhorba*) of Patrick, went to Dublin to make peace between Donnell O Lachlainn and Murtoigh O'Brien, where he took his death sickness: and in this state of sickness he was brought to Donagh-Airhir-Eavna, and there anointed. He was afterwards removed to the Daímhliag [or, 'Great Church,'] of Armagh, where he died on the 12th of August," &c.

This Donnell O Lachlainn was king of the North, and was styled also (according to the Four Masters, in his Obit, at 1121,) "Monarch of Ireland." And the Murtoigh O'Brien with whom he was at war, from having been originally but king of Munster, had come to be honored also, at least subsequently to A.D. 1095, with the style of King of all Ireland: although

* So suggests Dr. Reeves, in his learned historic Introduction to the set of beautiful lithographic drawings of this Bell and its case, published by M. Ward & Co., Belfast. 1861.

such a claim on his part was acknowledged only in the southern part of the island, where, by the extension of his territories in successful war, he had been able to make it good.

But to return to the *Clog-an-Uidheachta*. As the inscription on its shrine states that it was made during the Coarbship of the Donnell (son of Awley,) aforesaid, this must have been at some period of the fourteen years between A.D. 1091 and 1105, during which Donnell held office. Moreover, it would appear from the inscription, that not merely the Shrine, but the Bell itself, (*in cloc sa*, 'this Bell,') was made by, or to the order of, the Monarch O'Lachlainn. For, to translate so definite and well understood a term as *cloc* by Bell-shrine, as has been suggested, appears to be a rather arbitrary and uncertain mode of dealing with the language of such a record: especially when we know that the Irish had other words in common use for expressing the idea so suggested, had it been what the inscription was intended to convey; as for example, *scrin*, 'a shrine,' or *scrin cumhdach*, 'a covering shrine,' &c.

But that the *Bell of the Will* had certainly some existence previously to the time above indicated, would appear sufficiently proved, if only from the entry at A.D. 1044 of the Annals, already cited; and how then could it be true that it was made subsequently to A.D. 1090? Possibly it may have been fused into a nugget of some shape in the conflagration which destroyed the bells of Armagh in A.D. 1020, or broken by the sacrilegious hand of some plunderer from Iveagh or elsewhere; and that, recovered in this state, by the ecclesiastics of Armagh, it may have answered for swearing on, but not for ringing, until Donnell O'Lachlainn, anxious to restore it to its former use, *re-made* it, or caused it to be *re-made*; that it might again be heard chiming to denounce the perjurer, or to summon, from the tower top, the faithful who dwelt beneath, to assemble in their church at the hour of prayer.

At all events, the inscription says that king Donnell made the Bell, and that Cuduilí O'Inmainen and his sons were the artists who, for its better preservation, constructed for it the curious and elaborate case in which it is now enshrined: and that Cahalan O'Mulholland was appointed 'Warden of the Bell,' agreeably to the custom of the country, which assigned the custody of such venerated relics to particular families, bestowing on them at the same time, various honors, privileges, and responsibilities, connected with the safe keeping, and proper application to use, of those treasures which were so committed to their charge.

How the family of O'Mellan became possessed of the privilege of joint-wardenship of the Bell, as intimated in Primate Prene's Sentence of Deprivation, above, is not recorded. But their enjoyment of it is testified by the old Irish Annals, as well as in the Latin Archives of Armagh. Thus at A.D. 1356, the Four Masters have the Obit of "Solomon O'Mellan, Warden of the Clog an Eadhachta, a general patron of the clergy of Ireland:" and again at 1425, they make mention of "O'Mellan, Warden of the Clog-an-Udhachta Phatraicc," i. e. "Warden of the Bell of Patrick's Will.

From this we may correct an error of Archdeacon Cotton's, in his learned *Fasti Ecclesie Hibernice*, where, in his brief account of the Deans of Armagh, he has (at p. 30,) inserted this entry:—"1443 to 1474, CHARLES O'NIELLAN (often misspelled O'Mellan) is Dean." O'Mellan is, however, undoubtedly the right name, although to suppose the other so was a not very unnatural mistake for a person whose attention was chiefly directed to the Latin Records to fall into. The letters M and Ni, in the old hand of the Primatial Registers, are sufficiently like one another to have misled even the able scribe, whose pen executed the 'Fair Copy' of Prene's Register: for, at page 228 of that Volume, the name of the Dean abovementioned, in a document of the year 1444, is spelled "Carolus ONiellan;" and in the "Sentence of Deprivation," the person deprived is called in the same transcript, first "Johannes O'Neillan," (p. 496,) and afterwards, (p. 498,) "Johannes O'Mellan," as the name is elsewhere also, correctly, spelt in the same Vol., (as e.g. at pp. 497, 515, &c.) That the person intended was one of the Niallans, or O'Neylans of Hy-Niallain, or Oneilland, would naturally suggest itself to a writer hesitating which name to choose as the right one. But in the Irish language and character there is no ambiguity whatsoever; and the Annals written in it clearly indicate that the family which had charge of the Bell, and one of whom, as the sentence declares, was intruded as "Dean of Armagh," was named O'Mellan, not O'Niallan.

The name O'Mellan, moreover, is still extant, at least in the parish of Ballynascreen, (Co. Derry,) where possibly, or somewhere in the same quarter, the old keepers of the *Bell of the Will*, so named, may also have resided. For it appears that it was not very far from that, that the O'Mulholland's, the other joint-wardens of the same Bell, were located: the head of their family appearing (as Dr. Reeves has remarked, *Antt.* p. 374,) to have been, at the time of the issuing of the *Sentence*, settled in that part of Tyrone which is now transferred to the County of Derry, under the name of the Barony of Loughinsholin; and the names of different members of the same family occurring in old records, in connection with Magherafelt, Ballyscullion, &c. In the last named parish, and especially in the neighbourhood of Bellaghy, Mulholland is still a prevalent name. The probability of such local connection between the two families associated in the Wardenship of the Bell is increased by a statement of the Four Masters at A.D. 1432, that *Patrick O'Mulholland, and the son of O'Mellan, were slain in O'Kane's Country*, i. e. in what is now the Barony of Keenaght, Co. Derry, to which Ballynascreen is adjacent.

The continuation of the history of the Clog-an-Uidheachta may now be given in the words of Dr. Reeves. (*Antt.* p. 375,) as follows;—

"After the faculty granted by Primate Prene to Patrick O'Mulchallyn, a long blank occurs in the history of St. Patrick's Bell; but, at the expiration of three centuries and a half, it again presents itself in the possession of a member of the same family. In the year 1758 Bernard Mulholland died at Moyagoll, in the parish of Maghera, and county of Derry, aged 75 years. His son Edmund lived at Edenduffcarrick, or Shane's Castle, in the capacity of an under agent to the O'Neill family. His son Henry, being designed for the priesthood, received a liberal education; but, failing to enter into holy orders, he became master of a grammar school, and towards the close of the last century followed his vocation in the now obliterated village of Edenduffcarrick, on the confines of Drummaul and Antrim parishes. Among his pupils was Mr. Adam M'Clellan, who, in after life, cherished a lively feeling of regard for his preceptor, and was enabled to afford him assistance in his declining years. To testify his gratitude for the kindness he had received, the old man, when on his death bed, consigned to Mr. M'Clellan the possession of this venerated relic, which was found, together with a copy of Bedell's Irish Bible, in an oak box, buried in the garden, where, for a safety's sake, it had been deposited by the last of its hereditary keepers."

The *Clog-an-Uidheachta* at present adorns the library of Dr. Todd, in Trinity College, Dublin, having come into his possession by purchase, at a cost, I believe, of £150. A series of four beautiful engravings, in tinted lithograph, of the article itself and its case, accompanied with the history of the Bell, from the pen of Dr. Reeves, has been published by M. Ward & Co., Belfast, in A.D. 1851, and may be seen in the Armagh Library.

Taking all the circumstances above noticed into account, no reasonable doubt can, I think, remain, as to the identity of the Bell now in Dr. Todd's possession, with that at least which was known as the *Clog-an-Uidheachta* in the Twelfth Century. To complete the history of the matter, it may, however, be stated, that Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, has another ancient bell, alleged to have been that of the Donaghmore of Tyrone, which is mentioned in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, and which, from the notice of it in that work, Mr. B. supposes to have been the one called the *Clog an Uidheachta*. What the Tripartite Life says of it is this:—

"Quibus prefecit [i.e. S. Patricius] Columbū presbyterum: cui et suū cymbalum et libellum ritalem reliquit." *Vit. Trip.* ii. cap. 142. (Colg. Trias Th. p. 148 b.) or, in English, thus;—

"And over them he [St. Patrick] appointed the presbyter Columba, to whom also he left his Bell [cymbalum] and Office Book."

The verb '*to leave*' being made use of to imply the assigning of a bequest, the bell left with the presbyter of Donaghmore, must, it is thought, have been no other than that usually styled the *Bell of the Will*, or *Bequest*. The note of Dr. Reeves on the word, however, in the publication of Ward & Co., abovenoticed, (p. 2) is against this view, and reads thus:—"This word left denotes in the original the gift of an itinerant, rather than the bequest of a testator." It might, indeed, perhaps, be replied, that it is at least capable of the latter sense, and that, had the former been the idea intended, the words '*apud quem*,' or '*penes quem*,' (with whom,) rather than *cui*, (to whom,) would probably have accompanied the verb *reliquit*. But the historical facts concerned appear too plain, independently of any such little arguments, to make them worth pursuing further here.

Many other ancient ecclesiastical bells, of the same shape and materials as the Bell of the Will, namely, *foursided*, and formed, generally, of iron plates riveted and brased, have been found in various parts of Ireland, and are preserved, as objects of curiosity or veneration, in different repositories throughout the island.

It is time, however, to remind the reader of these pages, that the preceding digression relative to the famous Bell of the Will, although so immediately connected as it is with our proper subject, is still a digression, and has been introduced in consequence of our attention having been drawn to the particulars contained in the *Letter Commminatory* against O'Neill, Captain of his Nation, which has been already cited. But the more direct object in view in bringing forward that epistle, was to illustrate the character of the struggles in which the Anglo-Roman Coarbs of Patrick were involved with the native Princes and their followers, and the methods to which they had recourse for the purpose of resisting and crushing their influence. The denunciations of the prelates assumed at times a still more savage form, as may be seen in one or two other instances to which we shall now refer, and which are all of that sort of documents that our limits will admit of our exemplifying in this Memoir.

The first of these documents (*Reg. Prene, Tr.* 149-154,) is dated from Armagh, October the 8th, 1441, and is entitled, "A Declaration of *Excommunication of an Heretic*, directed against ODompnyll," or O'Donnell. From the body of the document itself, however, it appears that it was equally against "the Dean and Chapter of Raphoe," and such Ecclesiastics of that Diocese as took part with them: and it is addressed "to Odo M'Kathmaill [or, Hugh] (in Irish, *Aodh*) Campbell, Canon of Derry, and our Commissary and Subcustodee in the Bishopric aforesaid," i.e. of Raphoe. It states, also, that the Bishops of Glougher, Derry, and Kilmore, were joined with the Primate in the issuing of such a Manifesto.

It appears from the Declaration, that the Bishopric of Raphoe being vacant at the time, the Primate laid claim to the right of exercising the episcopal power, and acting as a custodee of the spiritual and temporal interests of the See, during the vacancy. But in this he was opposed by the authorities, ecclesiastical and secular, of that part of the country, "O'Donnell, Captain of his Nation, and the Dean and Chapter of Raphoe, usurping, occupying, and keeping to themselves, the fruits and profits of the bishopric aforesaid, and having incurred thereby the sentences of Suspension, Excommunication, and Interdict," which had, accordingly, been denounced against them. But, seeing that the "intolerable obstinacy, and perversity in contempt of the keys" exhibited by this "Naghton, or Nuner O'Donnell," and the Dean and Chapter, and their adherents, had continued "for years" to defy the Primate's authority, it was found necessary to have recourse to ulterior measures. Not merely O'Donnell himself, but the Dean and Chapter, and their ecclesiastical adherents, were to be denounced as "heretics, and favorers of such, and as such to be punished," for presuming to exact, by fraudulent and sacrilegious collusion with the said Nuner, any of those rents or tributes which, during the vacancy of the See, the Primate claimed to belong to himself alone.

"Yea further," says the document, "we have decreed, that as well the said Dean, and the several members of the Chapter of Raphoe, as all other Ecclesiastical persons, exacting as aforesaid, and particularly such of those sacrilegious conspirators as are in the enjoyment of benefices, be deprived of all their Benefices and offices, and annihilated (*inhilitari*) so far as regards the obtaining of any similar or other Ecclesiastical benefices:—ordaining not only that the Secular Arm is to be invoked, as we have invoked it, against them, and each individual of their number, and their aiders, abettors, and counsellors, but, further, that all their goods whatsoever are to be dissipated for a common plunder among the faithful of Christ, (*quæcunque sua bona in communem prædam Christi fidelium dissipentur*;) as in our Process thereupon instituted is more fully set forth. And seeing that we have thus decreed, and in order that a procedure so opportunely and necessarily engaged in may meet with its due effect;—willing, also, that so long as the said Dean and Chapter shall persist in their said schism, disobedience, and contempt, they are to be deprived, disseised, and dispossessed, of the Figure of the Blessed Cross, belonging to the Cathedral Church of Raphoe, as aliens from it and all its benefits and virtues, as well as from all other ecclesiastical immunities of every sort, itself to remain in our Metropolitan Church of Armagh, until such time as shall see them reduced to a better state;—willing, also, that the premises, or at least the purport of them, should, on such days, and in such places, as may be opportune and necessary, be duly intimated, notified, and made public to all those concerned in them;—

"Especially, seeing that to those, all and singular, who, being truly confessed and contrite, shall have engaged in attacking the persons, or dissipating the property, of the abovenamed suspended, excommunicated, interdicted, aggravated, and re-aggravated, deprived, and annihilated parties, with a view to reducing them to a better state, we have made a grant of 40 days of indulgence, *toties quoties*; [i.e. 40 days for each of such plundering attacks made by them:—]

"Therefore, it is that we straitly enjoin, charge, and command, you, our Commissary and Subcustodee abovementioned, in virtue of your obedience, and on penalty of Anathema, and complete forfeiture to us, that you publish, and cause to be published, the several premises, or, at least, their intended purport, so faithfully and effectually, that the said heretical, deprived, and annihilated parties, and their aiders, abettors, and counsellors, may the more speedily be reduced to a better state, and the premises, in all their details, be duly carried into effect, and not only so, but that, also, their condign punishment may serve as a bridle to many beside, to curb hereafter the audacity of such as might be disposed to attempt the like.

"And, regarding as we do, Henry, O'Neill's first-born son, as one, from whose obedience and fidelity we may reckon with fullest confidence on his executing the office of the secular arm, as you shall instruct and require him to do, on behalf of God, and His Holy Church, and on our behalf, at such times and places as shall be convenient, we do ourselves also, by the tenor of these presents, thus require him to act, not merely with a view to our Indulgence aforesaid, but, also, that he may warily shun the penalties of Suspension, Excommunication, and Interdict, to be fulminated against him as the law directs, if (what God avert!) he shall contravene [this injunction] and especially, should he favor [those criminals.] Otherwise, if he shall deal with them in such sort as shall be favourable [for our ends,] it shall be with God's approbation that he shall so demean himself, and perform and execute what is his duty in this behalf. Thus, too, shall her devout son and defender cause his Mother [i.e. the Church,] not only as Militant on earth, but, also, triumphant in Heaven, to procure from him, from the Strict Judge, the recompense of eternal bliss.

"And, what you shall have done, and what shall have been done [by any others,] in regard to the premises, be careful that you so accurately certify us, and so diligently behave yourself in the commission with which you are entrusted, that in all, and through all, as God shall grant, we may have occasion to acknowledge, with well merited commendation, your fidelity and industry. Given under our Seal *ad Causas*, at Armagh, the Eighth day of the Month of October Anno Dni. 1442, and of our Consecration the Third Year."

"*The Holy Cross of Raphoe*," mentioned in this record, seems to have been a very famous object of adoration among the people in those days; as we may judge from the following notices of it in the Annals of the Four Masters:—

"A.D. 1397. Hugh MacMahon recovered the use of his eyesight, through fasting in honour of the Holy Cross of Raphoe, and in honor of the Image of Mary, of Trim."

"A.D. 1411. The Holy Cross of Raphoe perspired blood from its wounds, and many distempers were healed by that blood."

On the latter passage, Professor O'Donovan has these notes, "*The Holy Crucifix. lity. Holy Cross...* [but] the allusion to its wounds clearly shews that it exhibited a figure of Christ Crucified....

"The Four Masters were very industrious in collecting passages of this description, and yet they either did not know of, or did not wish to put on record, a very sublime miracle gravely recorded by the Anglo-Irish Chroniclers of that period, namely, that the Sun stood still for a full hour in the year 1407, while Stephen Scroope and the warlike Prior of Kilmainham were slaughtering O'Carroll and his followers, at Callan, in the Co. Tipperary."

We may further observe on the document above quoted, that there is in it no reference to the authority of England or her government, by whose power, notwithstanding, Primate Prene was maintained in his Archiepiscopal dignity: but acting independently of any other than the *ecclesiastical* authority which he himself wielded "by the Grace of God and of the Apostolic See," the prelate proclaims a guerilla warfare against a native prince who had never acknowledged the sovereignty of England, and whose independence, except so far as crippled by ecclesiastical authority, England herself could not deny; for although the decrees of the Canon law, and processes ecclesiastical, could be published and executed in O'Donnell's country, it had never been reduced into '*shire-ground*,' and the writs and sentences of Anglo-Norman law were little cared for by its inhabitants.—Through the Church's machinery alone could England effectually push forward her claim to sovereignty in such parts of Ireland in those days, (i.e. in *all* Ireland, saving 'the Pale,' which was narrowed sometimes within the limits of some three or four counties next Dublin,) and the Church would not of course have been anxious to increase that power beyond the limit at which, remaining still manageable to her own control, it might most effectually serve for the sustaining of her interests in the country.

The next of these Primatial Denunciations, to which we shall now turn our attention for a moment, is of a character very similar to the last, but includes *some* reference to the power of England, though only indirectly, as mentioning promises made by the offending party to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the penalties which were to follow on a breach of them. This new denunciation is also dated from Armagh, in the next month after the issuing of the last one, viz., on the 16th of November, 1442. The occasion of its fulmination is also similar to that of the last, arising out of the everlasting strife between the Anglo-Roman Prelates and the native "Detainers," as they were called, of property belonging to the Church. The place concerned especially is the Diocese of Dromore, (Co. Down,) and the criminal denounced is "the pestilent and sacrilegious Arthur McGanassa, Captain of his Nation," who, during a vacancy in the See belonging to his territory, would not allow the Primate to exercise the rights he claimed as its Custodee, but perpetrated "sacrilegious usurpations, occupations, and detentions, of lands, rents, profits, rights, and emoluments," belonging to the See; and although subjected to Sentences of Suspension, Excommunication, and Interdict, aggravated, and reaggrieved, "the intolerable obstinacy of the said Arthur, thus multifariously denounced," was such as to bid defiance, for years, to these spiritual terrors, paying no more attention to them, than he did to his own "solemn engagements made to the Noble and Puissant Lord, Lord James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond, Lientenant of our most Serene Lord the King in his land of, Ireland at Dandalk, on which occasion it was given in charge to the Noble Aodh Buidhe O'Neill, as lord of the said Arthur, to coerce him, and rise against him, as his subject, in case he should by any word or deed contravene the promises" which he had so made.

Arthur, however, persisting in his obstinacy, is now declared an heretic, and to be punished as such, with all that contribute to aid, sanction, or favor him. "And we not only ordain," says the primate, (as in the former case,) "that the Secular arm be invoked, as we do invoke it against him, but, also, that all goods whatsoever belonging to him are to be dissipated as a common prey among the faithful of Christ's flock." In connection with this sentence there are promised, as in the former instance, 40 days of indulgence, *toties quoties*, for all, who, "truly confessed and contrite," would engage in attacking the persons, and helping to dissipate the goods, of the offending party.

And then, to promote the due and speedy execution of the Mandate, "John, Bishop of Connor, our Suffragan," is ordered, on pain of being treated as guilty of perjury and contempt, to give it immediate publication. And the clergy of Down, Connor, and Dromore, are, in like manner, to make it known, on pain of Anathema and Forfeiture *in toto* of their privileges. And Aodh Buidhe O'Neill is called upon, in fulfilment of his promises made to the Lord Lieutenant and the Primate, to exercise the powers of the Secular arm, with a view to reducing the offender and his abettors to obedience. And all other "Captains of Nations, and puissant, noble, and illustrious personages," are required to be no less ready to aid, as might be expedient, in enforcing the Mandate, as they would shun the Church's curse, or value the eternal joys, which might, by her aid, be procured for them in the regions of bliss.

The document so far noticed, (from the *Regr. Prene*, Tr. pp. 133—139,) is one which requires here no further comment, nor will our limits admit of any additional remarks on its contents.

For "Detention" of Church Property similar to that instanced in the two last cases, but connected with the Diocese of Armagh, the whole of the Irish portion of that Diocese was placed under Interdict in the year 1454, on St. Martin's day, on which the Primate, at the High Cross in the market of Dundalk, pronounced the Denunciation to this effect, before a large multitude of people. The principal parties denounced on this occasion were "Owen O'Neill, Captain of his Nation, and his wife Evelina Baret, his eldest son Henry," &c. &c., who not only withheld lands, rents, &c. belonging to, or claimed for, the Church, and inflicted various injuries on the Primate and his Tenants, officers, clergy, &c., but further, placed notorious impediments in the way of his being able to come and visit his Church, and exercise the jurisdiction, and collect the dues, which of right belonged to him and his See.

In the "*Letter of Excommunication and Interdict*," issued on this occasion (*Regr. Prene*, Tr. 109-113,) which is addressed to all the Suffragan Bishops of the Province, and to the Dean and Chapter, and the Culdees, of the Cathedral Church of Armagh, and other principal ecclesiastics of that City, as well as to all the "Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Rectors, Vicars," and other clergy of the province generally, orders are given that they should "observe the Interdict aforesaid, and cause it to be observed, so, as that no Divine Offices, or Sacraments of the Church, those of Baptism and Penance alone excepted, should be celebrated for any person;" and, "all men of rank and influence, who were faithful to Christ, and zealous for the Church," are called upon to be ready to exercise the power of the Secular Arm against the denounced parties, as occasion might arise, and as the aforesaid clerical persons should require of them. "And, let none of those," says Primate Prene, "who are bound to render you this aid, be led, in consideration of any subjection due to the said O'Neill and Henry, or the others above specified, to respond, adhere, submit, or attend, to them in any wise, but let them rather withdraw from them all obedience and service of every kind, as we call Heaven and Earth to witness that they deserve, and, as we have authority, and are bound, to ordain, according to the ancient Writings and Chronicles of our Church of Armagh, so attesting."

This document, and the procedures connected with it, were by no means ineffectual. For the same Volume of Records

in which it is contained, furnishes evidence that the O'Neills were reduced to terms of submission to the Primate. But on the further particulars of those transactions we have no room to enter here.

Another *General Interdict*, to be observed through the whole Diocese of Armagh, (but without a precise date, only an imperfect record of it remaining,) was denounced in the same age, (as appears from the same Volume, Regr. Prene. Tr. 1084—'8,) in consequence of the misdeeds of "Felimy O'Hanlon, Captain of his Nation," who had taken the primate himself prisoner on one occasion, and on another, his Chaplain and Commissary, William Water, Vicar of Carlingford. In the Sentence against him are included, also, all his accomplices, aiders, and abettors, "and incendiaries, and homicides, all and singular, and especially those thieves and robbers who murdered John Logheran, &c., &c." The title of the Sentence is, "Suspension of Divine Worship and Administration of the Sacraments, and General Interdict, to be observed against the perpetrators of outrages, &c.": and although left imperfect through the injuries of time, enough of it remains to exhibit the terrible character of the denunciations hurled, in such cases, against those who were unfortunate enough to incur the extreme malediction of the Church; as will appear from the following portion:—

"These have we anathematised and excommunicated; and from the Lights of Holy Mother Church do we sever and sequester them. To Satan and his Satellites in the dissolution of their flesh do we commend them. May they fall in Battle, and be wiped out of the Book of the living. Be their portion and society with Dathan and Abiron, and with Symon, whom the earth swallowed up alive,—with Ananias and Saphira, whom the apostolic sentence doomed to death,—with Nero, Pilate, and Judas the traitor, who perished by their own hands,—and with those that said, 'Depart from us, Lord, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways!' With sound of terror let their memory perish! Be fire and brimstone the portion of their cup! and in one generation blot out their name for ever! And as that Candle falls extinguished from our hand, so fall their souls from the sight of Almighty God and the company of all. [the blessed in Heaven, unless] they take thought, and return to the fostering embrace of Mother Church, and be counted worthy to obtain the benefit of absolution, in due form of law. Fiat! Fiat! Amen."

The form of cursing used on such occasions was more or less varied, according to circumstances, in particular cases. The parties, for instance, who robbed a widow, Janet Rowe, of her parents' will, and of jewels and other property belonging to her, were, by a decree of the Primate, dated Mar. 5. 1461, to be not only excommunicated, by Bell, Book, and Candle, but also cursed "standing, sitting, walking, riding, lying, sleeping, waking, eating, drinking, bread, liquor, flesh, fish, butter, leeks, onions, garlic, and in all other their occupations whatsoever, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head," unless they made prompt restitution, &c., &c. (Prene, Tr. p. 92.)

Having thus given, (in however slight and irregular a way) some specimens of the strife, maintained, in the Anglo-Roman period of Irish Ecclesiastical History, between the *Coarbs* of Patrick, and their 'Irish enemies,' and of the weapons employed by the former to reduce their opponents to submission, it is not our purpose here to pursue this part of the subject any farther; the design of this Essay not being, (of course,) by any means, to supply a complete and elaborate view of the historical matters touched on in it, but rather to correct the serious errors countenanced and circulated by writers of past ages in connection with them, and to put students who may hereafter be interested in such inquiries, on a better track for arriving at a true understanding of the case, than Ware, Lanigan, and others, have suggested to them. In doing which, if the few illustrations of the subject above introduced, from the Primatial Archives, should have the effect of drawing the attention of any more competent and able investigators, to the singular and voluminous collection of historical materials comprised in them, another point of some value will be gained. If such materials have been rather neglected, or at least little applied to use, in time past, it is not certainly from any want of a courteous disposition on the part of those in whose custody they are, to give all reasonable facilities for consulting them for literary purposes.

Leaving it, then, for those who may write, hereafter, more set and systematic treatises on that part of our history, to carry out any further inquiry into the condition and circumstances of the *Coarbs* and *Erenachs* during those Anglo-Roman ages, above referred to, we shall now pass on to examine what they were at a later period of history, when, subsequently to the legal establishment of the Reformed Religion in Ireland, they became the subject of public investigation, by authority of King James I., at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century.

The wars of Elizabeth's reign having ended, and the mind of her successor being much occupied with plans for the settlement and plantation of Ulster, in which the interests of religion were not lost sight of, some difficulty was naturally experienced from the anomalous disposition of what appeared to be the church lands of the Province. Most of them, although paying rents and contributions to the bishops, and in some ways a little subject to their jurisdiction, appeared yet strangely independent of their control, and altogether out of their possession: while they were no less strangely subject to the control, and entirely in the possession of those *Coarbs* and *Erenachs*, and their septs, about whose origin, or title to such possession, little or nothing was known. Nor could it have been a very easy matter even to ascertain what portions of land were included, by prescriptive right, among these held by such a tenure.

A Commission was, therefore, appointed, in the Seventh year of the reign of King James, with power to inquire into and settle all questions connected with the escheated lands "in the several Counties of Armagh, Colerane, Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, or Cavan." It consisted of eighteen members, among whom were, Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, Thomas, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Henry, archbishop of Armagh, George, bishop of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe, Robert, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Vicetreasurer, &c., Sir Humphry Winche, Chief Justice, Sir John Denham, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir John Davis, Attorney General, &c.: and any five of these, including the Lord Deputy, were empowered to enquire, as well by the oaths of good and lawful men, as by all such other good ways and means as to them should seem fit and expedient, into the matters which were entrusted to them for investigation.

In the instructions given to these Commissioners were included the following, connected with the projects on foot for the settlement of the escheated territories, and of the church lands in particular:

"Whereas great scopes and extent of land in the severall counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Colerane, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, within our province of Ulster, are escheated and come to our hands by the attainder of sondrie traitors and rebels, and by other just and lawful titles, whereof wee have caused, heretofore, severall inquisitions to be taken, and surveys to be made, which, being transmitted and presented unto us, we considered with our privie counsell, attending our person, how much it would advance the welfare of that kingdom if the said land were planted with colonies of civill men, and well affected in religion; whereupon there was a project conceived for the division of the said lands into proportions, and for the distribution of the same unto undertakers, together with certaine articles of instruction for such as should be appointed commissioners for the said plantation; which project and articles, signed with our owne hand, we have latelie transmitted unto you, our deputie: and whereas wee are informed that in the inquisitions and surveys formerly taken there have been some omissions, as well of the ecclesiasticall land claymed by the severall bishopps within whose diocesses the said escheated lands doe ly, as of the lands merely temporall, &c., &c.,

"Wee doe further by the advice and consent aforesaid give unto you or any yve, or more of you as aforesaid, full power and auctoritie, to here and determine all titles, controversies, and matters whatsoever which shall arise and be moved or pretended as well betwene us and our subjects, as betwene partie and partie, concerning the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments, or any parte thereof, the church lands onlie excepted, which nevertheless you shall alsoe have power to order and decree as aforesaid, soe as it be done with the consent of you, our deputie; and you, the archbushopp of Dublin, our chancellour; and of you, Henry, archbushopp of Armagh, primate of all Ireland; and of you, George, bushopp of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe."

This Commission is dated "the one and twentieth day of July, in the seaventh yeare of our reigne of England," &c. In

the "*Articles for Instructions for the Plantation of Ulster*," to which the Commissioners' attention is directed in it, (as given immediately after the Commission itself, in the Volume which contains those Records,) are included, among others, the following orders connected with the church lands, and our subject;—

"3.—The omissions and defects in the former survey of the escheated lands in Ulster, either for us or the Church, are to be supplied and amended by new inquisitions, and the ecclesiasticall lands to be distinguished from the lands belonging to the crowne."

"14.— . . . ; and further, wee are pleased that the escheated lands out of which the bushoppes have had heretofore rent, certentie of refections or pensions, should be esteemed ecclesiasticall, and be annexed to the severall sees whereunto they did pay the same, whereof the commissioners are to take particular notice, and to see the same effected accordinglye."

The Commissioners held their *Inquisitions* accordingly, the Juries appointed to assist them in their investigations being selected from the principal Irish septs resident in the different counties concerned. The names, for instance, of those who were sworn for this purpose at Armagh (on August the 12th, 1609) were these following:—

1 ——— Whitechurche Esq	9 Donell O'Neale Mc. Henrie	17 Cormock Mc. Tirlagh
2 Sir Tirlaghe Neale, knight	10 Neale Mc. Coddano	18 Braslowe O'Neale
3 Carberie Mc. Cann	11 Donell Mc. Cann	19 Bartholemewe Owen
4 Donagh Morchie [Murphy]	12 Redmond Hanlon	20 Hugh Mc. Iteggart
5 Tirlagh Mc. Iteggart	13 Owen boy Mc. Murcho	21 Tirlagh O'Caasye
6 Christopher Fleminge	14 Neale O'Calligan	22 Nice O'Quin
7 Conn O'Neale	15 Hugh O'Neale Mc. Henrie	23 Calvagh Mc. Donnell
8 Hugh Mc. Brien Mc. Cann	16 Patrick oge O'Conrie	

The names occurring in the other Juries are not less Irish.

The Inquisition found by the Armagh Jurors makes no mention of Coarbs or Erenachs, under those names; but it contains very much, nevertheless, on the subject of the erenach lands of the See of Armagh, adapted strongly to confirm the views relative to the origin of Bishops' Lands, and other Episcopal Property, in Ireland, which we have ventured to advance in the preceding pages. Great numbers, for instance, of territories and denominations of land are specified by them, as paying certain small rents, and rendering other services, to the Archbishop of Armagh, without having ever at any time been in the possession of him or his predecessors, but having been always held, from time immemorial, by particular Irish septs. Thus

"the said jurors doe upon their oathes say and present that certen septs and families of the Irishrie hereafter named, have tyme out of mynde, possessed and inherited, according to the Irish custom, certen townes and parcells of land hereafter specified, lying within the meares and boundes aforesaid, yeelding unto the archbushoppes of Ardmagh, for the tyme beinge, in right of his archbushoppicke, onely the rents and duties ensuinge, viz. the sept of Pierce Mc. Gillechrany and their auncestors, tyme out of mynde, have been seised of, and in Gargagh, Imolchraine, and Ballihedene, contayninge half a towne land, yeeldinge and payinge thereout yerely unto the lord archbushopp of Ardmagh, for the tyme beinge, ten shillings per ann." (col. 2.)

Then follow immediately the names of some seventeen other septs, and of the several parcels of land held by them, respectively, with a statement also of the rents paid by them, severally, to the primate; at the close of which, before entering on the next part of their statement, the Jurors take care to insert this note: "And further the said jurors doe upon their oathes say and present that the lord archbushopp of Armagh for the tyme beinge, could not att any tyme att his will and pleasure remove the above named septs or families, or any of them, nor any of their auncestors out of their said possessions or freeholds aforesaid."—(col. 3, 4.) Among the septs thus far brought under notice in the Inquisition, it may be worth while to observe, that there is included that of "Owen oge OMellane," who held "the land of Lorga Iwallane, conteyninge one sessiagh," or somewhat less than half a town land, paying therefrom a rent of 6s. 8d. to the Primate. The keeper of St. Patrick's Bell already mentioned, as having been deprived by Primate Preme, was perhaps of their stock. Further on in their statement, (col. 4.) the Jurors inform us as follows:—

"And further the said jurors doe upon their oathes, say and present, that within the territorie or Irish precinct of land called Toaghaghie, within the baronie of Armagh, the auncestors of Sir Henrie Mc. Tirlagh Mc. Henrie O'Neale, knight, were longe before the tyme of Con Backagh O'Neale, [who obtained a grant of his own lands from the Crown, in the time of Henry VIII.] seised by virtue of a gift made longe sithence by one of the predecessors of the nowe lord archbushopp of Armagh, of and in the townes and lands ensuinge, viz. of and in the towne and lands of Lisdromard, Ballyhoyed, Bothoran, Tawlaghboe, Balliduff, Collintragh, Brackawnagh, Tonnagh, Agheressinn, Tree, Balleaghebeg, Balledeanin, and Balleskan, with thappurtenances, yeelding and payinge to the lord archbushopp of Armagh for the tyme beinge, a small rent, the certentie whereof the jurors know not; and that Sir Tirlagh Mc. Henrie's auncestors have bene tyme out of mynde seised thereof, and being to bear the bonnaght of some of the Galloglasses [i.e. soldiers,] for O'Neale, did give to the said Galloglasses foure of the said townes for their bonnaghts."

After mention (col. 5.) of "foure and twentie townes and one sessiagh of land in the territory or Irish precinct of land, called Clanoule," of which the primate was seised in demesne, in right of his archbishopric, &c., the Jurors proceed to notice, in the following terms, the erenach lands of Tynan:—

"And further the said jurors doe upon their oathes, say and present that the sept of Munstercaasay [Muintear-Cathasaidh, see p. 38 sup.] tyme without the memorie of man to the contrarie, [i.e. from time immemorial,] and yet, are the auintent tenants of the five townes followinge lying within the territorie or Irish precinct called Teynan, in the said barony of Toaghhrany, viz. Ballycloyd, Ballycloyntycarty, Ballynvreagh, Mullaghard, and Lymmenogore with thappurtenances, and doe hold the same of the lord archbushopp of Ardmagh, payinge yerely, seaven and twentie shillings ten pence, and bearings cess for the said lord archbushopp's horses and boyes when he would send them thither, and that the sept of Clanmc. Teggart have bene, and yet are the auintent tennants and freeholders of the lands of Ballegortmelege, in the said territorie of Tynon, in the barony of Toaghhrany aforesaid, withappurtenances, and held the same of the said lord archbushopp, by the yerely rent of five shillings sixpence, and are not to be dispossessed at the primatt's pleasure: and that the sept of Clonawe and their auncestors are and have bene tyme out of mynde seised and possessed of, and in the sixteene townes of land following, in the territory or precinct of land called Dirrynoos, viz. the towne of Roghane and Carrickenenedane [&c.] yeeldinge and payinge out of the said townes and lands, yerely, unto the lord archbushopp of Armagh for the tyme beinge, four markes, Irish, per annum, and cony [or, coigne, i.e. 'entertainment,'] for the lord archbushopp himself, and cess for his horses and boyes when he would send them." (col. 5.)

Then, after mention of eight other septs, and their lands, we are again informed (col. 6.) that "the said jurors doe upon their oathes, say and present that the lord archbushopp of Armagh for the tyme beinge, could not att any tyme dispossesse or remove the said septs or their auncestors, or any of them out of their lands att his pleasure;" and farther on, (ib.) that

"the sept of O'Hanlon and their auncestors, for the space of one hundred fiftie three years were and contynued possessed of the six townes of land ensuinge, viz Tawnakeagh, Mulloghglasse, Carrigmotragh, Carriginietragh, Lisboane, the half towne of Kilcowe, and the half towne of Dromlege in the said barony of Grier, payinge in auintent fines to the lord archbushopp of Armagh for the tyme beinge, eight pokes or some money in lieue thereof, per ann: the certaine sum of which money the said jurors knowe not, and that the said lands were never in the possession of the lord archbushopp of Ardmagh or any of his predecessors: and the said jurors doe upon their oathes, further say and present, that the sept of Clanmc. Moyre and their auncestors, tyme out of mynde, were and yet are possessed and seised of the eight townes of land, followinge; viz. Carrilake, Lakanelurganagh, Mullaghin, Drinoolagh, Antaly, Cavannykillie, Lissnamackave, and Aghencoorke with the appurtenances in the barony of the Ffinghes, and held the same of the lord archbushopp of Ardmagh, by the yerely rent of a marke, Irish, out of everie of the said townes, amounting

* See, in connection with this, the Record already given at p. 39, sup. "Touching the carriage of our Lord the Primate."

in the whole to foure pounds, per ann: but the said jurors *do not finde* that the said eight townes were att any tyme heretofore in the possession of the lord archbushopp of Armagh or any of his predecessors." (col. 6.)

Varfous other denominations of land are specified in the remaining portion of the same document, out of which the primates had been wont to receive various rents and other services, also specified, but of which the jurors say and present, as before that they "*were never in the possession of the said lord archbushopp, or of any of his predecessors, since the first guifte.*" (col. 7.) One or two additional specimens may be here given of the rents and services in question, before we turn from the statement of the Armagh jurors, to those furnished, similarly, in the other towns of the north, visited by the commissioners.

The ancestors of Owen Enallye O'Neill, and Donell Mc. Henrie O'Neill, for instance, were in possession of land situated about Lisnadill, on the south side of Armagh, for which they paid "yerely, out of foure of the said townes, unto the said lord archbushopp of Ardmagh for the tyme being, ten white groats of silver for each towne, and for thother foure townes the tenants weare to attend the said lord archbushopp at his goinge toward Attycorbe, and att his return from thence homewarde." (col. 7.) The sept of Mounterfillan held five towns in the territory of Derrybrachinshe, in the barony of O'Nealane, "by the yerely rent of eight shillings per ann. as a chiefe rent, or to bringe home the said archbushopp's wood, and to do other duties in lieu thereof." And, finally, "the sept of the Cullans, and their auncestors tyme out of mynde," were tenants of eight towns in Clonfeacle, which, in the times of Primate Long, and Primate Garvey, "were sett for eight shillings per ann. for everie towne, and bearinge cesse for the archbushopp's horses and horse boys, whensoever they were sent." (col. 8.)

One more extract from this record, and we have done with it.

"And they further, upon their oathes, present and finde by an ancient booke showed unto them by the deane of the cathedral church of Ardmagh, that the twoe townes of Eddenyfeagh, Ballyedenkaapagh, Ballyrameall, Ballekhillin, and the half towne of Drumgoase, should belonge to the said deane of the cathedrall church of Armagh, and that the towne of Dromagh should belonge to the prior of the viccares chorall of the cathedrall church of Armagh; howbeit, the said jurors doe further say, that they *cannot finde, by any meanes, that the said lands, or any of them, were att any tyme in the possession of the said deane or prior*, but that the said booke mencioneth, that there was paid unto the said prior out of the said towne of Dromagh, yerely, sixe shillings in money, one mutton, and one lossett of butter; and that the like rent and duties were paid unto the said deane of Armagh, yerely, out of everie of the rest of the said townes."

The final conclusion arrived at by the Armagh jurors was, that all the lands forming the subject of their Inquisition, saving the demesne lands of the primate, and the inheritances of some half dozen other parties, "are now in the reall and actual possession of the crowne, by the attainder of Hugh late erle of Tirone, and otherwise."

The verdict of the *Tyrone* jurors, on a similar *Inquisition*, at Dungannon, on the 28rd of August in the same year, accords wholly, in its bearing on our subject, with the preceding. But it makes mention throughout, of the *termon* and *erenach* lands by those names, and ever enters at the close into giving some account of their origin, in the passage already cited at page 29, *sup.* From the long and important statement of these Jurors, our limits will allow us to introduce but a few other extracts, illustrative of the style and character of the whole. They commence by stating, (col. 2.)

"that the lord archbushopp of Ardmagh is seised in fee, in right of his archbushopprie of Ardmagh, of and in the severall yerely rents, services, and customes underwritten, yssuing out of certen parcells of *erenagh* land, within the Baronye of Dunganon, in the said countie of Tyrone, as followeth, viz.—

"out of the *erenagh* land of Donoghmore, contayninge thirtene tullaghes, everie tullagh contayninge one balliboe and one sessiagh, every sessiagh contayninge a thirde part of a balliboe, the yerely rent of forty shillings per ann. and sixe shillings and eight pence Irish for everie bloodshed; and, also, a yerely cosherie in the said lord archbushopp his visitation, yf he come himself in person, and not otherwise;

"and also, out of the *erenagh* land of Kyllishell, contayninge twoe small balliboes; the yerely rent of three shillings and four pence per ann. and one mutton, thirtie cabdell meadows of oates, and a cosherie yerely, if the said lord archbushopp come himself in visitation, and not else; together with fines for bloodshed as before;

"and also out of the *erenagh* land of Artra, contayninge twelve tullaghes (whereof the *erenagh* had one free from exactions); the yearly rent of foure markes per ann. and a cosherie [or entertainment, R.K.] for one night yerely, in his visitation, and not otherwise;

"and out of the *erenagh* land of Ardboe *als.* Ballileigh contayninge thirtene tullaghes, (whereof one tullagh was free to the *erenagh*), the yerely rent of foure markes per ann. and one cosherie yerely in his visitation, as before, and not otherwise; and that the *herenagh* of this land was to beare twoe third parts of the charge in repairing and mainteyninge the parish church;

"and also out of the *termon* land of Ballyneclage, contayninge fourtene tullaghes, (whereof two tullaghes were free to the *corbe*) the yerely rent of twoe markes per ann. and a cosherie, as before, and the *herenagh* of this place; also, to beare twoe third parts of the chardge in repayringe and mainteyninge the parishe church there." [punctuation, so, in the printed *Inqq.*]

Then, after mention of the *erenach* land of Donogh-Henrie, we have (col. 3,) this which follows:—

"and also, out of the chappell and sixe balliboes of the *erenagh* land of Stuckane *als.* Dromchile; the yerely rent of twentie shillings per ann. and out of the plow lands thereof, fiftene madders of oates in lieue of a cosherie; but if the lord archbushopp doe, in his visitation, take a cosherie, as he may lawfullie doe, then he is not to have the said fiftene madders of oates; and that the *herenagh* of this place was to mainteyne the said chappell in honor of St. Marogh."

Then, after mention of some other *erenach* lands, comes this:

"And alsoe, out of the foure balliboes of land of Killneman; [Killyman;] the yerely rent of twentie shillings per ann., which foure balliboes of land, for the space of twoe hundred yeares, have bene inherited by the Muntercullan, [i.e. the Cullan family, or sept,] in course of Tanistrie neither could the archbushopp of Ardmagh, for the tyme beinge, lawfully remove them." (col. 3.)

These are all the specimens we have space to admit, of the long statement from which they are taken. In the part of it which follows, the jurors enter into a full account of all the *erenagh* lands in the various parishes of Tyrone, as then existing, and the rents and services paid from them to the archbishops of Armagh, and bishops of Derry and Clogher. And they end by finding, like the Armagh jurors, that all the lands in question (excepting the inheritance of Sir Henry oge O'Neale, and with reservation also of the bishops' mensal lands, and the rents and customs aforesaid, &c., &c.) "are nowe in the reall and actual possession of his majestie, by reason of the attainder of treason of Hugh, late earl of Tirone," &c.

The report of the Jurors "att *Lymnavaddy, in the Countie of Colrane,*" in their Inquisition. on the 30th of August, in the same year, accords with the others abovementioned in the character of the light which it throws on the subject of Coarbs, *Erenachs*, and their lands. This report has been already cited at some length at page 7 of the present memoir, and more briefly at page 27. To the passages there cited we shall add just two others from the same report in this place. At the commencement, after having made mention of one or two small items of property belonging to the bishop of Derry, they proceed thus:—

"And the said jurors do upon their oathes, further say and present, that the said late bushopp of Derry and his predecessors, both before and untill the makinge of the said statute of the attainder of Shane O'Neale, made in the said eleventh yere of the said late Queene Elizabeth, was seised in fee, in right of the said bushopprie of Derry, of and in severall yerely rents, customes, and refections yssuing out of certen *herenagh* lands within the said baronie of Colrane, in manner and forme followinge, viz, out of the *herenagh* land of Dunboe, neere the parishe church of Dunboe, contayninge three balliboes, over and besides the two balliboes of *erenagh* land of Naburny, and one balliboe of *erenagh* land of Ballymaddy, which the *herenagh* of that place had free, five shillings sterling per ann. and an yerely refeccion yf the said bushopp did not visite, and not else, and alsoe five shillings sterling per ann. out of the *erenagh*'s third parte of the tithes of the said parishe of Dunboe, and also out of

the *erenagh* land of Graungmore containyng twelve balliboes, viz.—Patoge [&c.] . . . fortie shillings sterling per ann. and a yerely refection as before, and not otherwise, which lands the nowe lord bushopp of Derry, doth sett and dispose att his pleasure, but by what right the said jurors knowe not, but they say that the said bushopp's predecessors never enjoyed or ought to have the said land itself, but only the rent and refection aforesaid." (coll. 1, 2.)

Towards the end of the same report, they introduce the following statement :—

" And further, the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, present and say, that the temporall lords never receaved any rents or duties out of the *termon* or *herenagh* lands of the said countie of Colrane, but that Shane O'Neale, in the beginnynge of his rebellion, compelled the tenants of the said *termon* and *herenagh* lands to give him sundrie uncertaine rents and customs, which the said jurors finde to have bene extorted wrongfullie and *de facto*, as an unlawfull exaction, and not *de jure* or as a lawful rent." (coll. 5, 6.)

The short return of the *Derry* jurors, dated Sepr. 1st. in the same year, contains less of any importance to our present subject than those which precede. But it has at the end the following statement on the matter, which is worth citing for our purpose.

" And lastly touchinge the severall names of *herenagh*, *termon*, and *corbe*, the said jurors doe upon their oathes finde and present that all *termon* and *herenagh* land within the said countie was att the first given by Collumkill and the succeeding abbotts unto the severall septs before any bushoppes were knowne to be in this countie: and that the said land was free and had the privileges of sanctuarie and other liberties, and was enjoyed by the sept in course of gavelkynde."

Though we cannot, of course, regard the traditionary information of these jurors as sufficient to controvert the fact, (attested with superfluous fullness by all records which bear on it,) that Ireland never was, from the time of Patrick, without a supply of bishops, yet, their reference to a period, when abbots disposed, at pleasure, of church lands, "before any bushoppes were knowne to be in this countie," is not wanting in interest, nor yet wholly in foundation, if we but regard it as a natural enough corruption of a true tradition, connected with times when there were, actually, no bishops possessed of see lands, or episcopal rents, or diocesan jurisdiction, in the island.

The Report of the Jurors of *Donegall*, in their *Inquisition* at Lifford, on the 12th of September, in the same year, is very long, and includes many curious particulars, a few samples of which we shall next put before the reader. In the parish of Faughan, it is stated, near the opening, that there were six quarters of *erenagh* land, two of which were mensal lands, [i.e. demesne lands, of his own,] of the lord bishop of Derry, "and that there are yerely and auncient rents yssuinge and payable out of thother foure quarters of land unto the said lord busshop of Derry, for the tyme beinge, in right of the said busshopric of Derry as followeth, viz. :

" out of everie quarter ten meathers of butter, everie meather conteynyng two gallons Englishe measure, twentie gallons of meale of the same measure, sixe score meathers of seed oates of the same measure, to be paid att candlemas yerely, and five shillings and foure pence per annum out of everie of the said quarters, and twoe muttons to be delivered in July and August; and also out of everie the said quarters one quarter of beofe per annum to be levied in winter, and that of all the said charge, (except the said rent paid in money,) the parson and vicar ought to pay the seventh parte." (col. 1.)

From the next passage to be cited, the reader will, I fear, be supplied with some ground for believing that these *Donegall* jurors were a little too inconsiderate in the use of their oaths, and rather over ready to swear about matters concerning which they could have no certain knowledge. Of the *erenagh* land in the parish of Clonmany, (in Innishowen,) amounting in all to six quarters, (each quarter being three balliboes,) they say, (col. 2.) that

" of the said six quarters, three quarters were given in Cullumkillie's tyme, and that the lord bushopp of Derry hath and receaveth, in right of his busshopricke, out of twoe of the said quarters, such and the like rentes proporcionable as out of the *herenagh* land in the parishes above mentioned, and that the third quarter named Donally, is free to Donnogh O'Morreessen, who is the abbott's* *corbe* and the busshop *Derrie's herenagh* of those three quarters: and the said jurors do further say, upon their oathes, that the other three quarters of the said six quarters church land were given by the O'Dogherties and O'Donells to Collumkill as a dedication towards his vestiments when he went to warre, which said three quarters, together with the said other third quarter, beinge free, were given to the auncestors of the said Donogh O'Morreesson, whoe in those daies were servants to Columkills, and are now in the possession of Sir Raph Bingly, knight, and that the said *herenagh* paid unto the said busshop of Derry, out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes of the said lands, the yerely pencion of ten shillinges Englishe, and was aunciently accustomed to collect all the busshop's duties throughout the whole barony of Enishowen; . . . and that in the said parishes sixe gortes of glebe, whereof three gortes belonge to the vicar, and thother fower [&c.] gortes to the keeper of the *missagh* or ornaments left by Columkill."

Concerning the curious article here spoken of, Dr. Reeves, in his Edition of *Colton's Visitation of Derry*, supplies the following information (at p. 45.):—

" This reliquary, or *Meeshach*, as it is called, was preserved in Inishowen till within the last century, when it was obtained in the neighbourhood of Faban, by Dr. Thomas Barnard, eldest son of the then bishop of Derry. This clergyman having been successively archdeacon and dean of Derry, bishop of Killaloe and of Limerick, died in 1806, and on the sale of his effects, the *Meeshach* was purchased by Mr. Vallence, a bookseller of Dublin, from whom it passed to Mr. Jones the auctioneer, then to Sir W. Betham, and from him to the late Duke of Sussex; at whose sale it was bought by Mr. Rodd, the bookseller, for £20, who transferred it at that price to Lord Adare [now Earl of Dunraven]; and thus it found its way to the place of all others best suited to be its depository, the College of St. Columba, where it exists, a monument of ancient art and of recent munificence. In Sir W. Betham's *Antiquarian Researches* there is a drawing of it, which represents not only the part which remains of the original design, but also the incongruous additions which were made to the case, by way of a restoration, by some tasteless mechanic. An important part, however, has escaped in the silver frame of the upper surface, on which is an inscription in Irish letters, that connects the reliquary with the family under notice. It is to this effect: BRIAN MAC BR. I MUTROUSSA DO CUMDAIG ME ADO. M.CCC.CC.XXXIII. 'Brian, son of Brian O'Muirgiussan, covered me, Anno Domini 1534.' With this date agrees the style of the letter, which is angular, and possesses neither the beauty nor the distinctness of the early character."

Sir W. Betham, by a strange error, (in his *Antiquarian Researches* abovementioned,) interprets the date on the *Meeshach* as being A.D. 503, more than 1000 years before the true date. The article which this reliquary was intended to contain, was, no doubt, such as was usually placed in an ancient case of the kind, viz., a copy of the Holy Gospels, or some other Sacred Book, which was held in religious veneration among the people in those days. But whatever treasure of the kind the *Meeshach* once contained, nothing of the sort has been in it for many ages, nor even any tradition to tell what was its original burden. Covers of the kind appear, however, to have shared in the veneration which was paid to the sacred treasures within them; as has been remarked by Dr. Petrie in that learned Essay, which decided, once for all, the once absurdly conducted controversy as to "the origin and uses of the Round Towers of Ireland." In the same Essay, attention is passingly drawn to the circumstance, that it formed one of St. Columkill's occupations, (according to the testimony of an ancient poetic Life of him, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, in the Royal Irish Academy,) to employ himself in making such cases and satchels for books, as were in those days used, for their better preservation, and also, (as appears from different anecdotes, quoted by Dr. Petrie, in the same work, pp. 333-337,) to facilitate their being carried about, suspended across the bearer's back, from place to place, as occasion might

* i.e. the abbot of "the late dissolved abbey of Columkill of Derry," mentioned previously in the same Inquisition.

requira. To return, however, to the Donegal Inquisition, from which we have been making this digression.—The churchlands in Innishowen were not, it seems, allowed to be free of contributions to the temporal chieftain, for

"the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, say, that upon everie quarter of *corbe* land, *termon* land and *herenagh* land, within the said barony of Enisowen, (the landes lyinge in the parishe of Fawne, Clonmany, and Deserteigny aforesaid only excepted), O'Doghertie hath auncientlie had and receaved fower meathers of butter, and eight meathers of meale per annum, everie meather conteyninge twoe gallons English measure, but they say that none of the said butter or meale hath bene paid in the tyme of the nowe lord busshop of Derrye." (col. 4.)

In their account of the church lands in the barony of Raphoe, the jurors state "that the

"Carehordeverne properlye belongs to the deane of Raphoe, whose in that respect is att his owne charge to entertayne the whole clergie the first day and night, att any time when a convocacion shall be called, and that Carroffgarr doth belonge to the sept of the Dowgans who were the busshop's carpenters." [&c., &c.] (col. 5.)

"And further, the said jurors doe upon their oathes say, that in the said barony is also the parish of Taboibin, conteyninge in the whole twelve ballibetaghies and a half, whereof fower quarters are *herenagh* land, and that O'Ruddy was aunciently the *herenagh* there, but nowe the busshop of Raphoe doth att his owne will dispose thereof, out of which the annuall rent to the said busshop was sixe meathers of butter and fower meathers of meale, and sixe shillings and eightpence, Ir. in money, for everie quarter inhabited," &c. (ib.)

In the parish of Clandowaddoge "there are," say the jurors, "fower quarters of *herenagh* land, and the *herenagh* thereof is the sept of Mointerhernes, . . . and the *herenaghe's* tenants have foure and twentie gorts, or small parcellis of land free to themselves, devided equallie upon the said fower quarters, whereof everie one of the said tenants are proportionable free as they severallie hold the said gorts; and that in the said parishe are twelve gortes more, lyinge twoe myles from the church named Killdaveed, which are free to the *herenagh*: and the said jurors also say, upon their oathes, that all the said landes were, *longe before the tyme of any busshop*, given to the Saint O'Woddog." The jurors do not, in this case, add whether it was as "a dedication towards his vestiments" for war, or not. Their statement, relative to the pre-episcopal Saints of Ireland, must, however, be received in such a qualified sense, as we have applied already to a like statement of the Derry Jurors, in the last case. Of the church lands, &c., in Toryisland, the Donegal jurors give (col. 2.) the following account:—

"And the said jurors further say, that in the said baronie is the island of Torro, conteyninge twoe quarters of *termon* land, (whereof O'Rohertie is both *herenagh* and *corbe*), payinge thereout to the said busshop of Raphoe seven shillings Ir. per annum, and, also, for everie balliboe inhabited fortie tercian madders of maulte, and thirtie yards of brackan cloath of their owne makinge soe thin as beinge laid upon the grounde the grasse might appeare through the same, and that the said O'Rohertie beinge deade, the busshop is to institute one of his sept in that place; and they alsoe say, that in the parish of Torra is both a parson and viccar, and that the said viccar hath one free gorte of glebe, and paieth to the busshop twoe shillings proxies, but for the proxies paid to the parson the said jurors refer themselves to the busshop's register; and further, they say that the tithes of this parishe are paid in kynde, one third parte to the parson, an other third parte to the viccar, and the byshop's third parte to the *herenagh*, out of which third parte the said *herenagh* paieth to the said busshop sixe shillings and eight pence, pencion; and that the said parson, viccar and *herenagh* are to beare the charge of repairinge and mainteyninge the parishe churche, as before."

After notice of many other parishes, &c., by the jurors at Lifford,

"they alsoe say, that in the said barony [of Tirbhugh] is the parishe of Clancollumkill, conteyninge five quarters, beinge all *termon* land, and that Willm. oge Mc. Enailis in both *corbe* and *herenagh* of thone moitie thereof, and Neale McEnailis is *corbe* of thother moitie; and they further say, that in former times there was onely one *corbe* of the whole landes, but that upon discontent conceived by one of the sept, for that he was not named *corbe*, he adhered to O'Donnell, and by his power was made *corbe* to the moitie thereof, and soe continued in possession of his moitie untill O'Donnell's late defection." (col. 12.)

Somewhat farther on (col. 13.) in the same report, we come upon the statements which follow:—

"And the said jurors doe alsoe finde upon their oathes, that the busshop, for the tyme beinge, could not raise or increase the rentes or duties upon the *termon* or *herenagh* land, either upon the alteration of the *herenagh* or otherwise, and that what rent or duties the said bishopps have raised or receaved, over and above thauncient rentes and duties above particulerlie set downe in everie parishe, did first beginne and were exacted by Rees Coytemore [i.e. Rees of the Great Coat,] in the time of his custodie and not before, and that the *herenaghs* did yealde unto the said Coytemore's exaction and increase of rent, fearinge that otherwise they should have bine displaced

"Moreover, the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, present and saie, that the busshop had, in and upon the church land within the dioces, severall refections in his visitation for the busines of the church, and not otherwise, and that accordinge to the porcion of the land and abilities of the clergie, and that if the said bishop staid three nights in one parishe, he laie first upon the *herenagh*, the second night upon the viccar, and the third night upon the parson, and that if he staid but one night in the parishe, the parson, viccar, and *herenagh*, did contribute equallie towards that charge; and the said jurors doe alsoe finde upon their oathes, that all the church landes within the dioces of Raphoe were aunciently free from cuttings, exactions and impositions whatsoever, (the rentes and duties above mencioned to be due and answerable out of the same excepted,) untill Manus O'Donnell's time, whose first began to impose bonnaghtes and the like upon them against the church mens' willes," &c., &c. (coll. 13, 14.)

"And further, the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, saie and present, that in auncient time there weare divers landes given by temporall lords to saintes, or holie men, in the said com. [i.e. county,] for celebratinge divine service and prayinge for their soules healthes, and that the said saintes or holy men, dedicatinge themselves onely to prair and the service of God, did, for their better ease, ordaine and constitute severall *herenaghes* to manure and occupie those landes, which were usually a whole sept, and the principall of the sept was named the *herenagh*, whose successivelie did enjoy those landes yealdinge and payinge certayne rentes unto the saintes, and that afterwards bishopps beinge, created by the pope, did succede the saintes in those landes, of whom the said *herenaghes* held their said severall landes as from the saintes, payinge such rentes and duties to the bishopps as they or their sept did formerlie pay to the saintes, and were not to be displaced by the busshop satisfyinge the auncient and accustomed rentes and duties unto them, as they doe nowe in those latter daies, and that the said *herenaghes* are to be named by the said busshopps, ever sithence, who take an income and an oathe of fidelitie to themselves of the *herenaghes*, and that one sept beinge deade, the busshop is to ordaine an other sept *herenagh* in that place, with thadvise of the gravest men of the churche, which *herenagh* is alwaies to be the most auncient of the sept, and not to be chosen hereditarie, [i.e. according to the rule of primogeniture, R.K.,] neither are the said landes inheritable to the chiefe *herenagh* alone, but that the whole sept of the said *herenagh* are equallie to inhabit with him, and have their share of the land accordinge to their severall abilities to paie the busshop his rent, and that amongst them the *herenagh* hath a freedom above the rest, which in particular the said jurors cannot preciselie present; and further said jurors doe, upon their oathes, present and saie, that the whole contrie of Tireconnell, otherwise called O'Donnell's countrie, and all landes, tenements, and hereditamentes above mencioned to belonge to any busshoppricke, deasnerie, abbie, monasterie, or religious house, are now in the reall and actuall possession of the crowne, by reason of the attainer of treason of Rorie late earle of Tireconnell."

The *Fermanagh* jurors, at Enniskillen, in their *Inquisition* dated the eighteenth of September in the same year, do also furnish us with a long and particular account of the matters referred to them for enquiry; at the commencement of which they notice that

"the lord bisshop of Clogher is seised in fee, in right of his busshoppricke of Clogher, of and in the rent, refections and duties followinge, issuinge out of the *herenagh* land of Maghericoolmanny, containinge two quarters and three acres of the newe measure, makinge four quarters one acre and an halfe of the old measure, whereof Phelim O'Muldowne is the *herenagh*, and hath three acres of the same free, viz. of and in the yearly rent of two markes per annum, everie marke beinge but twentie and six groates sterlinge, and twoe white groates, and also fower nights' refections in the said busshop's twoe visitacions, and not else: viz. twoe nights in may visitacion, and twoe nights at alhallontide visitacion, and for want of flesh and wine or aquavite [i.e. whiskey] fower shillings; and alsoe at every hallontide, halfe a beofe, or three shillings and fower pence, and thirtie ffraghans of oate breade, or five shillings in lieu thereof." (col. 1.)

Some of the church lands in *Fermanagh* are spoken of as being in the possession of a class of persons called *duaghshas*, [i.e. 'natives,'] who appear to have been a kind of inferior *erenachs*; of which an instance occurs in the part of the next extract relating to the parish of Boho. The bishop, say the jurors, (col. 2.) receives

"out of the *herenagh* land of Boghae, conteyninge twoe quarters and twoe tates* of the newe measure, (whereof the twoe tates are free) one marke per annum, makeinge as before, and a cosherie of twelve methers of butter, accordinge to their owne measure, and halfe a beofe, or six groates and one white groate in lieu of the said beof, per annum, and that O'Fellan and his sept are the *herenagh*s of the said land, under whome there is another sept in the nature of an *herenagh*, called Clanmc. garraghan, w hose inherite a fourth parte of the said twoe quarters, and that the said *herenagh* O'Fellan and his sept enjoy the rest of the said twoe quarters, and that the *herenagh* O'Fellan hath one of the said free tates called Karne to himselfe, and that the other free tate called Rostollan, is subdivided amongst his sept or doughashes under him equallie according to their proportion of chargeable land ;

"and alsoe out of the *herenagh* land of Devenish, conteyninge in all fower quarters of the newe measure, of which soe much as lay in the iland Devenish (except Rossimartina conteyninge a fourth part of a tate) is free and belonged to the *corbe* or *chiefe herenagh* of that place, fower markes per annum, makinge as before, and eight night's cosherie in his visitacion as before and not else, and threescore sroaghans of oatebread and a beofe per annum, or tenne shillings in lieu of the said bread, and an noble per annum in lieu of the said beofe ; and that there are three *herenagh*s of the said land : viz. O'Tullie w hose is the *chiefe* and is *herenagh* of one halfe of the said land, O'Cassidie w hose is *herenagh* of one quarter of the said land, and O'Casey w hose is likewise *herenagh* of an other quarter of the said land." (coll. 2, 3.) [Farther on, these jurors further state, that,]

"in the said barony of Maghereboy and Twora, is the parish of Devenish, the parish church whereof, standeth within the Iland of Devenish ; and that in the said parishes is both a parson and viccar, collative ; and that the tithes are paid in kinde, one fourth parte to the bushopp of Clogher, an other fourth parte to the viccar, and thother two fourth partes to the parson of the said parishes, and the charge of repairinge and maintaininge the parishe church to be borne as before [i.e. 'that the parson and viccar are equally to beare one third parte of the charge in repairinge and maintaininge' it ;] and they alsoe say that the said parson paieth yerely for proxies, unto the said bushopp of Clogher eight shillings, and the said viccar fower shillings per ann. and they alsoe saie, that in the said parishes is a chapple of ease called Moynvagh, and half a tate of *herenagh* land thereunto belonginge, whereof Clanmc. Ittgart was the *herenagh*, and paid thereout to the *corbe* or *herenagh* of Devenish twelve pence per ann. but nothinge to the bushopp." (coll. 3, 4.)

Having made mention of eight tates of land on the south side of Lough Erne, "all which," they observe, "together with the tithes thereof, belonge to the late dissolved abbey or house of channons of Devenish," the Fermanagh jurors report further, (col. 4.)—

"that the said abbey or house of chanons of Devenishe, with one orchard or moore thereunto belonginge, are scituate and beinge in the iland of Devenish ; and that out of the said abbey the said bushopp of Clogher had yerelie a refeccion for a daie, or tenn shillings in lieve thereof in his visitacion and not else, but not to staie all night : and they alsoe saie upon their oathes, that the late priorie or house of secular priests of Collicea [i.e. of Culdees, R.K.], with an orchard thereunto belonginge, is likewise scituate in the said iland of Devenish, and that to the said late priorie doe belonge four tates of land of the ould measure, with the tithes thereof, in the baronie aforesaid."

Similar information is furnished by the jurors relative to the church lands in the other parishes throughout Fermanagh, but what relates to Devenish in particular has been selected for giving at such length here, from the interest naturally connected with the place, in the mind of a student of the ecclesiastical history and antiquities of Ireland. At the close of the Fermanagh Inquisition, as in the others preceding, we are supplied with information as to the state of church patronage in the districts concerned in it, and, also, as before, with an account of the origin, &c., of the *herenagh* lands, which, though rather long, is of such interest in connection with the subject of this Memoir, that we cannot forbear citing it here in *extenso*, thus :—

"Moreover, the said jurors doe, upon their oathes, say and present, that in every of the parsonages and vicarages within the said countie of Fermannagh (exceptinge such as are impropriated) the bushopp in whose dioces the said benefice shall be found void, did and might within the sixe monethes after the vacancie, collate to the benefice, beinge void, and that if the bushopp collated not within sixe monethes, that then the said collacion came to the archbushopp of that province, and that if the said archbushopp collated not within other sixe monethes, that then the said collacion, came to the pope ; but the said jurors say, that they have heard that great Coconnagh Mc. Guire, graundfather to Brian oge, now lyvinge, had all advousons, presentations and rightes of patronage of all parsonages and vicarages with the said countie, untill the pope, by the generall councill of Trent, took them from him ; but the said jurors have not seen it in their time :

"and further, the said jurors doe upon their oathes say, that the said *herenagh* landes were first given by the temporall lordes to certaine saintes free from anie dutie or exaction whatsoever, to tend the said saintes should maintaine the church, celebrate divine service, and keepe hospitalitie ; and that of the said saintes some were confessors, some deacons, and some virgins ; and that the said saintes (before they ceased,) chose out some septes whom they most respected, and gave unto every sept a proportion of land, to be equally by them and their posteritie inherited for ever, to the same uses and intentes, and to maintaine the same rites for which the said landes were formerlie given to the said saintes, and that therupon one or more of the said septes was placed in every parishe for the better maintenance of the church, and keepinge of hospitalitie accordinge to the maininge of the said saintes ; and that the said septes or the saintes before them, desirous to maintaine the church and the liberties thereof which they enjoyed, did voluntarilie give unto the bushopp within whose dioces they lived, certaine pencions and other duties as they are above sett downe, to tend the said bushopp should protect them and their liberties ; and that untill the said pencions and duties were soe voluntarilie given, the bushopp never had or claimed to have to doe either with the said land or the tenentes thereof, and that from thenceforth the bushopp tooke upon him the protection of the said septes and of their landes, and give to every chiefe of a sept the name of *herenagh*, whereof the land was first called *herenagh* land ;

"and the said jurors alsoe say upon their oathes, that the said *herenagh* himselfe was to be first elected by the sept amongst themselves, and to be confirmed by the bushopp, and that if the said sept could not agree, then the election belonged to the bushopp, dean, and chapter, but that the bushopp alwaies confirmed the said *herenagh* soe elected, and for that confirmacion received such fees and duties proportionable as for the institutinge of anie clerke into a benefice ; nevertheless the said jurors say that the inheritance and sole proprietie of the land remained in the sept, and that if any time the sept were quite extinct, yet the bushopp had noe power either to detain the landes in his owne possession, or to dispose of it to any other person, but to such a sept whereof he would chouse another *herenagh* to performe those duties and rightes in the church that the former *herenagh*s had done, and that then alsoe, the said bushopp could not alter or increase his former rent, pencion or duties ;

"and the said jurors alsoe saie upon their oathes, that it was in thelleccion of the sept to make any parte of their land free, payinge the bushopp dutie out of the rest, and that if the *herenagh*, or any other of his sept had made a forfeiture of his porcion, it came not to the bushopp but was partible betwixt the whole sept." (col. 8.)

The Report closes by stating, that "the whole countrie of Fermannagh" had come, by course of law, into the possession of Hugh Mc. Guire, "who was slaine in actuall rebellion against the said late queene Elizabeth : and that touchinge the rentes, duties and refeccions above mencioned, to belong to the said bushoppicks, or to either of them, the said jurors doe for the quantitie of the said rentes, duties and refeccions, bee they more or lesse, referr themselves to the said bushopps severall registres."

In the statement of the Jurors at Cavan, on the 25th of the same month of September, 1609, so far as it relates to the rents and duties paid to the bushopp from the *termon* lands of the county, &c., &c., there is no new feature of any apparent importance presented, to make it necessary to introduce any lengthened extracts from it in connection with any of the particular localities concerned. Beside the sums of money paid him from each, the bishops had other perquisites, as before, varying according to circumstances ; as for instance, from "the poll" of land called Mc.Connyngs poll, which formed part of the *termon* lands of Kilmore, in the barony of "Loughtie als. Cavan," he received "six shillings eight pence, and twentie breads with butter proportionable, eight daie laborers, and a sixth parte of cesse, coyny and other charges, per annum, out of the poll of Tullagh six shillings eightpence, twelve breads, fower mathers of butter, and eight daie workmen per annum,out of the *termon* land of Annagh, containing one poll, three shillings fower pences, and three reape hookes per annum" and so in various other instances. (coll. 1, 2.)

But the account given by these Cavan Jurors, at the close of their report, (coll. 7, 8,) concerning the original and history of the *termon* lands, and their possessors, is peculiarly valuable and worthy of attention, in connection with all that precedes ; and we accordingly place it before the reader unabridged, as follows :—

* A tate, or tath, was an Irish measure of land, varying in extent from 10 to 60 acres.

"And touchinge the originall of the termon land, the said jurors doe upon their oathes finde that before the distinguishing of parishes in these partes, there were certen religious men, in nature of hermittes, whose sequestering themselves from all worldly busines, did severallie retire themselves into several private places, where they severally betooke themselves to praier, and to other godlie actes for their soules health; and in testimony of their zeale and devotion, every of them for the mooste parte erected a church, and that to every of the said religious persons the temporall lordes gave a severall porcion of land, free for ever, to thintent that the said religious persons should maintaine hospitalitie, pray for the soules health of the said lordes, and repaire and keepe the said churches, and otherwise to advance the service of God in that place whereon hee lived; and that the said religious persons ceasinge, every one of them made choice of the most sufficient person about, and to that person and his sept he gave his porcion of land, to be inherited by him and his sept for ever, to the same uses and intentes for which the said temporall lordes first gave them to the said religious persons, and that to the said landes weare annexed certen liberties and freedomes, as sanctuarie and the like, for which cause the said land was called *termon*, or free and protected land, and the cheife tennant thereof in some places called *corbe*, and in some places *herenagh*;

"and that afterwarde, when the temporall lordes in their severall warres, and upon other occasions, began to charge and tax the said *termon* landes with divers exactions and impositions, the said *corbes* and *herenaghes* fledd unto the bushopp of the dioces wherein they lived, and besought his protection against the wronges and injuries of the temporall lordes, and therefore gave voluntarily unto the bushopp a rent or pencion out of their landes, and sometimes they besought the protection of such of the temporall lordes as they thought would defend them against the rest, and unto such temporall lordes some of the *corbes* and *herenaghes* gave certen rentes or pencions out of their landes, untill which time the bushopp had never any thinge to doe either with the landes or with the tennantes there;

"but from thencefourth the bushopp undertooke the protection of the said *herenaghes* and of their landes, and in proces of time tooke on him a power to CONFIRM EVERY CORBE AND HERENAGH IN THEIR LAND, and upon the alteration of every *corbe* or *herenagh* take of them certen duties whereunto the said *corbes* and *herenaghes* voluntarilie yielded, the rather to continue themselves in the said bushopp's protection, and that the *corbe* and *herenagh* was ever to be elected by the sept amongst themselves, and was comonlie thauncientest of the sept, but if the sept could not agree in the election, then the bushopp and whole clergie assembled and did elect one of the same sept, but still the bushopp confirmed and allowed him,

"and that if the whole sept weare at any time extinct, the bushopp could not either detain the said land in his owne handes, or dispose them to any particular person, unlesse it weare to another sept, out of which the newe *herenagh* or *corbe* should be created to inherit the said land, to the same uses for which it was formerlie given, which the said bushopp himselfe could not doe without thassent of the whole clergie, and that then hee could neither alter nor increase his rent or pencion;

"and that if the *corbe* or *herenagh*, or any of the sept under him, had made a forfeiture of any parcell of the said land, that came not to the bushopp, but was partable amongst the rest of the sept, and that the difference betwixt a *corbe* and an *herenagh* is this, that the *corbe*, called in latin *plebanus*, is head of a greater familie or sept, and sometimes of severall septes, and hath sometime under him several *herenaghes*, but the *herenagh* was heade or cheife of a smaler number of people, and seldom had under him more than his owne sept."

Allowing for some inaccuracies in these papers of the northern jurors, not unnatural, where their information seems to have been derived chiefly from tradition, and which we are enabled to correct by the aid of the old Irish Annals, the light which they throw on the history of the *coarbs* and *erenachs* is still valuable and important. The distinction between the different classes of persons intended originally by those names, as well as that between the *termon* and the *erenach* lands, was, when those papers were drawn up, a good deal lost sight of: and in the *Survey of the Co. Fermanagh*, for instance, at the beginning of the volume containing the Ulster Inquisitions, (and dated in 1608,) the church lands are spoken of as being generally in the possession of "*corbes*" only, no mention being made of any *erenachs*. So, in that Survey, the church lands of Aghalurcher are said to be held by a family of the Maguires '*as corbes*,' while the later Inquisition (of 1609,) abovequoted, styles the same particular family '*herenaghs*' of the same church. And, when the church lands became appropriated to episcopal sees, and the occupants were supposed to farm them for the bishop, *coarb* or *erenach* became another name for his farmer or agent, as in a passage of M^r Firbis's translation of the ancient register of Clonmacnoise, (quoted by Dr. Reeves, in *Colton's Vism.* p. 116.) which, after mention of services claimable by the Bishop of Clonmacnoise from Kill Tachuir, adds, "that a *comharb* or *corbe* was sent from Cluain [i.e. Clonmacnoise,] to Kill Tachuir, i.e. Duhily O'Conoil, who used to receive the Bushop of Cluain's rents."

But, independently of such inaccuracies as are above referred to, the statements of the jurors relative to the original independence of the *coarbs* and *erenachs* of any episcopal jurisdiction,—the circumstance that their lands had never, at any time, belonged to the bishops,—that their submission to the latter, and consenting to pay them rents, was a voluntary procedure, with a view to obtaining protection in their possessions, and that it was, in fine, the Church of Rome which had effected the bringing about of the change which established bishops, with ordinary diocesan jurisdiction, in Ireland,—are altogether worthy of attention, as conformable to what is, by other historical evidence, made sufficiently certain.

George Montgomery, bishop of Derry at the time of the Plantation, and who was, also, one of the Commissioners employed in the above investigations, was, himself, the author of different statements on the subject of them, which are still extant, and of sufficient interest to entitle at least a portion of them to a place in these pages.

The first of these statements of Bishop Montgomery, here referred to, is contained in a letter to Lord Salisbury, from Dublin, July 1, 1607, preserved in the State Paper Office, in London, and printed in part at pp. 156, 157, of Mr. E. P. Shirley's learned and interesting *Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farnes*, (in the County Monaghan.) It is to the following effect—

"In the Counties of Monaghan and Fermanagh within the Dioces of Clogher, the whole possessions of that Bishoprick have ever ben knowne by the name of *Termon-land*; of which *Termens* the Bishops of that See, as true landlords, have alwaies had the sole possession, placing, and displacing tenants, receiving their rents, their hospitie, with all fees, and services accruing due unto them out of ye. same, sometimes augmenting, sometymes diminishing their rents, at their pleasure, as by a Register of 200 years which I have shewed doth appere*. Yet divers gentlemen supposing those landes escheated to the Crowne by the Act of Dissolution, sought and obtayned patents of most of them from her late Majestie about the 34th yeare of her Raigne, at which time there being no Lawfull Bishops in those places, but such as [being the Popes lewd instruments] worked in the countrie, and durst make no open challenge or exception; In which grauntes this cautionarie proviso was inserted, that if the Patentees should not within 5 yeares build castles of defence on those landes, their patents should be utterlie voided, as now they are by non-performance of that condition, whereupon the late Patentees are againe become earnest suitors to his Majestie for a confirmation of their forfeited estates, and the booke of the division of Monaghan, wherein these *Termens* are also to pass, is sent over unto your lordships; in the end whereof my challenge unto these *termens* is set downe: which *Termens* if they be suffered to passe away from the church, the utter undoing of that Bishoprick, and the impoverishing of all parochiall Churches in those places might of necessitie ensue, for to my knowledge there is not annie the smallest glebe belonging either to parson or vicar which is not included in these *Termens*."

"The claims of the Bishop to the *Termon* lands were, however, disputed by the Crown," as Mr. Shirley goes on to say, "Sir John Davis, at that time Attorney General, maintaining that the Church had only certain rents from those lands, and not the lands themselves. The matter was referred to Juries of 'Clerks or Scholars,' who, in every county, brought in verdicts against the Bishops, and in favor of the Government." But such a conclusion was little satisfactory to Bishop Montgomery; as is indicated by his remarks on the subject in different places, and his recorded objection to the line of evidence on which the jurors founded their statements. In a latter from the Lord Deputy Chichester to the Lords, dated Feb. 19, 1609, (i.e. O.S., at the close of the year in which the *Inquisitions* were taken,) this objection is noticed in the following curious postscript, (S. P. O. quoted in Shirley's *Farnes*, p. 157, note):—

* "Records of Antiquitie within our Dioces we have none," writes this Bishop, about the period in question, in answer to some inquiries of the King's Commissioners, "saving only one old Register, which mentioneth not particular institutions and inductions. All that wee have is since the Plantation of Ulster, since which time all the benefices in my Dioces have bin presented or collated upon severall incumbents." Harl. MSS. p. 17, Shirley's *Farnes*, ut sup.

"The [Lord Bishop] of Derry remembering us at the signing of this Letter, that some of the Juries in the finding of these *Termon* lands did profess to give noe credit to the Bishop's Register bookes, and other writings, but to doe as they were led by their owne knowledge, notes, observation and tradition, as they cal'd it, and that we promised to certifie so much to yr. lps, wee do hereby yeald thereto in performance of our promises, leaving the further consideration thereof to your lordships."

In fact, the subject under investigation appears to have been sadly mystified by a confusion of ideas, which, in the mind of the bishop, as well as in that of the government, identified the bishops with the church, and caused them, as it would seem, to lose sight of the possibility of lands belonging to the church, and yet not to the bishops. The attempt of bishop Montgomery to prove by "a Register of 200 yeares," that his predecessors in the See of Clogher had always, as true landlords, the sole possession of the *Termon* lands of that Diocese, was a mistake as little supported by history, as the motion of the Attorney General, that the church had never any possession of the lands, but on y rents, &c., from them. And if the jurors had any better knowledge of the subject, they certainly did not put it on record in the Inquisitions; but, on the contrary, where they were summoned, as we have seen, amongst other things, to distinguish the ecclesiastical lands from the lands belonging to the crown, they ended by confusing, as far as in them lay, the one with the other: from what motives, we shall not here stop to enquire. The real state of the case, however, was, after all that precedes, that the *Termon* and *Erenagh* lands had been originally the property of the Church, but, certainly, never at any time in the possession of the bishops. The authorities of the Church of Rome, during the days of her sway in Ireland, had never been able to secure full possession of them: but they remained, part of the old church property of Ireland, created by the Irish themselves, ere they had submitted to her rule, and subjected afterwards to various abuses, and exactions, yet independent of any foreign control, or at least ownership, throughout Ussher, at least, until the time that, after the Reformation, they were subjected to the sovereign prerogative of King James I.

A fuller statement of Bishop Montgomery's, concerning the *Termon* lands, episcopal income generally, &c., is contained in a paper drawn up by him at the time of the Plantation, as it appears, and now preserved in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, (*Titus B. f. 626.*) The portion of it which follows is taken from the *Ordnance Memoir of Derry*, (pp. 49, seqq.)—

"THE ANCIENT ESTATE OF THE BISHOPRICKS OF DERRY, RAPHO, AND CLOGHER.

"The Byshopricks of Derry, Rapho, and Clogher, have their jurisdiction extended through the counties of Monaghan, Farmanagh, Tirone, Colrane, Tireconnell, and Inishowen, having the lands belonging to their temporalities devyded also in all theise severall counties. The Byshop of Clogher hath besyde his lands the fourth part of all tythes throughout his Dyocess, wch. is called *quarta episcopalis*. The Byshops of Derry and Rapho have the third part, and it is called *tertia episcopalis*.

"The rest of the tythes are devyded betwene the Parson and Vicar. In Clougher the Parson hath two fourth parts, the Vicar hath one. In Derry and Rapho the Parson and Vicar have each of them one third part.

"The parsonages were usually bestowed upon students that intended to take orders, towards their mayntenance at schoole, and were enjoynd within few yeares after they accepted the parsonage to enter into orders, but hold not themselves bound to execute devryne service.

"The Vicars are tyed to perpetual residence and service of the cure, and besyde their portion of tythes, have the benefit of all oblations and other small duties at buryalls and christenings to them selves alone for attendance of the service. Also they had a small parcell of ground lying next the Church, where their house was buyt for their residence, wch. was called *terra sacerdotalis libera et sine censu* [i.e. the priest's rent free land.]

"The parsonages and vicarages through all theise three Dyocesses have byn ever collated by the Byshops of theise Sees, without contradiction of challenge of any person. [This is, of course, true only of the period since the introduction of diocessan episcopacy, parsons, vicars, &c., into Ireland, B.K.]

"In the parishes where the Cathedral Churches stode the rectorye is ever annexed unto the Byshop of that See, the vicarage to the Deane of the same, and certayne other rectories and vicarages are impropriat to the Byshop and Deane wch. are called *mensales*, quia ad mensam Episcopi et Decani pertinebant, [i.e. mensal, because they appertained, as demesne property, to the Bishop and the Dean, R.K.]

"The Parsons and Vicars paye procurations to the Byshop once every yeare in *curru visitationis*, as they call it, [i.e. 'on occasion of his Visitation.']

"There is a mortuary due to the Byshop at the death of every person, that dyeth possessed of goods to a certayne value, as of fyve cowes the Byshop hath one, and is called *vacca mortuaria* [i.e. the mortuary cow;] and yf he have 500 the Byshop hath but one, and proportionably of other goods. In every Byshoprick besydes inferior Deanes there is one principall Deane, and an Archdeacon, with other Canons that made up the bodye of the Chapter, who assisted the Byshop, and had their houses, and kept their residence about the Cathedral Church, and had lands belonging unto them, wch. was called the Canons Lands.

"THE LANDS OF THE BYSHOPRICKS.

"The temporal lands of theise Byshopricks are called *Termons*, and are of two sorts, *mensales* [et] *censuales*. *Mensales* were those lands wch. the Byshops ever kept in their owne hand for their places of residence, neere the Cathedral Church and in som other fit places of removal, and they did properly belong to the Byshops table, whence they had their name, [i.e. from *mensa*, 'a table.'] Neyther might the Byshops grant awaye theise lands, but reserve them for mayntenance of hospitalitie. And in all the Pope's grants of theise Sees (or, as the Irish call them *rescriptis apostolicis*), whereof I have seene many, the Byshops were by oath bound to preserve and not to allyen the mensall lands.

"*Censuales terras* are those lands wch. are granted unto tenants, wch. inhabited the sayd lands and payed rent to the Byshop for the same and a fyne at their entrance, and change of every tenant, with a *subsidium* wch. they called *charitativum* [i.e. 'a subsidy of their charity;'] and was yeilded to the Byshop at his entrance to the Byshoprick, or in other case of necessitye and want.

"Theise *censuales terras*, or copyehold lands wch. payed rent, yeilded also unto the Byshops certayne intertaynements, wch. they call *refectioes*, and were of the nature of coaherings once or twyce every quarter of a yeare, or oftener yf occasion of more frequent visitation were offered, or other busynes of the Church or tenants requyred the Byshops presence. And indeed by theise refectioes did the Byshops chiefly mayntayne them selves and their followers, spending the most part of the yeare in this wandring kynd of lyfe among their tenants, and receaving from them meate and drink for 100, and some tymes 200 people, that followed the Bp.; and in respect of the tenants charge this waye, the Byshops imposed very small rent upon the lands, letting a quarter of land, wch. containeth 240 acres at least, and som more, for 6s. 8d., some for 3s. 4d., and fewe for 10s., none above, wch. they called *antiquum censum*, whereof the Byshops made little reckoning, lyving not by their rents but by their refectioes; in such sort that a tenant, wch. payed not above a noble in rent, spent in intertayning the Bp. and his followers ten pounds or twenty marks yearly, and theise refectioes were as due from their tenants as the rents, in such sort that yf the Byshop did not take his progresse or visit, he had allowance or a valuable consideration from the tenants for his refectioes. By this kynd of lyfe not onely were the tenants ympowered but a great number of unprofitable people mayntayned idly, who fynding means to lyve so easily would by no meanes be drawn to take any paynes or labor, but lyved upon the spoyle of others, and proved very dangerous members.

"The lands belonging to theise Byshopricks laye not by whole manors together in one place, but were devyded in every parishe neere the Church, much after the distribution of the Levites portion among the rest of the trybes. So that the Byshops did *una et eadem opera* [i.e. on one and the same occasion,] both visit the Churches, and keep their temporall Courts for determining of controveries among their tenants, for wch. purpose they had their officials and seneschals, neyther did any temporall officer meddle in any matters concerning the Church tenants, but left them unto the Byshops seneschals; and the Bishops did most usually visit *ecclesiasticis* [i.e. 'every church in its turn,'] and wheresoever the Byshop had any lands, they lye always next unto the Church.

"THE TENENTS OF THE CHURCH LAND.

"The tenents of the Churchlands are called *Eirenaci*, *Corbani*, or *Termoners*, and are all for the most part schollers and speake Latin, and anciently the chiefe tenents were the determiners of all civil questions and controveries among their nyghbours, whence they had their names of 'Eirenacs' *apo tes eirenes*, from making peace, or of 'Termoners' *a terminandis litibus*, from ending of controveries; and the lands of the Church being anciently Sanctuary lands, within wch. no man was followed further by the pursuer, in those tymes, were thence also called 'Termons' *a termino*, because there ended the pursuite. [These derivations are, of course, mere fancy, and unworthy of any attention, R.K.] Theise tenents were first placed in those lands by the Bishops, and the possession thereof contynued unto them by new grants from succeeding Bishops, after the death of every *Eirenagh*, &c. Neyther was it lawfull for the sonne of any *Eirenagh*, &c., to meddle with the lands his father possessed till the Byshop made him a grant of the *Eirenacy*. And, yf the *Eirenagh* his sonne came not within a certayne tyme lymited to want his graunt, the Byshop might give the land to another, whereof I have seene some presidents [precedents]. And yf the Byshop did see the sonne or next

kynnesman that demanded the *Erenachy*, to be unable in regard of his poverty, or otherwys insufficient to performe the duties of that place, the Bishop gave the lande to another whom he would chuse, whereof I have also seene some presidents.

"The Byshops altered the rents of these lands, accordingly as they were disposed to take more or lesse refection from their tenants.

"These lands did never paye rent, nor any other duetye or acknowledgement, unto any other person, but only to the Bishop, untill the rebellion of Shane O'Neill, who for the mayntenance of his rebellion ymposed and exacted cuttings owt of the Church lands as well as the temporall, the Byshops being not then hable to resist him, nor redresse the wrong otherwys then by petition to the Deputy and Councell, wch. they did after the war ended, the temporall Lords contynuing the sayd oppression of the Church begon by Shane O'Neill, and obtayned an act of Councell agaynst all the temporall Lords that oppressed the Church, whereby they were adjudged to restoar unto the Church ten for one; and this act made by Sir Henry Sidney when he was Deputye, and the Counsell then, was contynued in severall Deputyes tymes successively.

"Notwithstanding, the whole estate of these three Byshopricks of Derry, Rapho, and Clogher, together with all the lands lying in the counties of Armagh and Tyrone belonging to the Primate of Armagh, wherein consisteth the chiefe state of the Primacy, being the chief Prelacy of the kingdom, and the lands belonging to the Byshoprick of Kilmore, lying in the countye of Cavan, are all caryed away from the Church by offices, and are now in the King's hands, or of his patentees, as appeareth by the declaration following," &c., &c.

In an after part of the same paper, among the "Reasons moving to this restauration of Bishopricks, erection of churches, and schooles of learning," the first two suggested, from their close connection with what precedes, are worthy being cited here. They are as follows:—

1.—"All these offices, whereby the patrimony of the Church hath byn thus caryed away, were found in the vacancy of these Sees, when no Byshops was to claime the right of the Church, or when the Byshops were not of the commission nor called to shewe their right, as in other commissions is used, and therefore ought not, in the Byshop's judgement, under correction, to be prejudicial unto the church.

2.—"Secondly all these ecclesiasticall lands, by this last office found for the King, were by severall former offices, taken by lyke commission and warrant of authority, found all for the Church, and to be the Byshops temporalities and in their possession, together with the collation of all benefices in those Dyocesses, and yf offices be of force to establish or shewe the tittle and right of possession, they are for the Church, yf they have not that force then ought not the Church in the Byshops judgement under correction to be prejudiced in her inheritance by them.

The paper from which the above extracts are taken, contains much further information, of an interesting character, connected with the state of the Church in Ulster at that time, and recommendations for its improvement: which, however, we have not room to dwell on here. "These recommendations," observes the *Ordnance Memoir*, (p. 54.) "were in great part adopted and carried into effect on the final settlement of the plantation of Derry, and the services of Bishop Montgomery on this occasion were acknowledged by the king, who promoted him to the bishopric of Meath, with that of Clogher, by privy seal, dated at Westminster, the 24th of July, 1610, 'in recompense,' as it is stated; 'of the great charge he hath sustained in attending by our appointment the erection and settling of *ya*. Bishopricks and Churches in the North, which he hath effectually performed.'—(*Rot. Pat. Canc. 8 Jac. 1: 2 pars. d.*)"

Harris, in his Introduction to the "Bishops of Derry," (in *Ware's Works*, vol. 1, p. 285,) has noticed in the following terms, among others, the exertions of Bishop Montgomery for the improvement of the Church under his care. "Before the Reformation," he says, "the Byshop had one third of the Tythes, a lay Person, who was the Bishop's Farmer, called an *Erenach*, had another, and the other third was allowed for the Cure. But Bishop *Montgomery*, who was the first Bishop after the Reformation, abolished all these, and gave the whole Tythes to the Cure, King *James* the 1st., supporting and forwarding him in it." This observation is given also in the *Ordnance Memoir*, presently after the last extract above cited from it. But the learned writer of it has made (as Dr. Reeves has observed, *Colton* p. 119,) an erroneous statement. "Having had access to the Inquisitions of 1609, he should have known that the bishop received no tithes, but that the rector, as well as the vicar, did." We have already seen, at pp. 31, 49, that the 'Bishop's Third' of the tithes was that which the *Erenach* received; the whole being divided, in the times referred to, between the rector or parson, vicar, and *erenach*, in that diocese.

The statement of Bishop Montgomery, though valuable, as throwing a good deal of light on the subject it refers to, is not free from inaccuracies, which a little further acquaintance with the ancient history of Ireland might have helped to exclude. But to one who had no notion of a church having existed for centuries, of time then long past, without any *diocesan* episcopacy, it was a very natural (though erroneous) idea, (e.g.) to entertain, that the tenants of the *Termons* were first placed in those lands by the Bishops. Any part of the statement colored by such views, however, being disregarded, what remains is sufficiently curious and worthy of observation in its way.

Connected with the origin of episcopal property in this country, and with that wandering life of the bishops, to which our attention has been drawn in the above statement, there are one or two observations in Dr. Reeves's *Antiquities of Down*, &c., which should more properly have come under notice at an earlier page of this Memoir (p. 31, sup.) but which may still be conveniently cited after what has just preceded. Speaking of the exertions made about the time of the Synod of Rathbreasail, for the creation of an episcopal property in Ireland, Dr. Reeves remarks that

"It took some time, however, before all the episcopal incomes attained to the desired amount, for in 1179 the following striking exception is recorded by Fleury: 'At this council [the Third Lateran] the Pope consecrated two English bishops and two Scotch ones; one of whom had come to Rome with a single horse, the other on foot with a single companion. There was there also a bishop from Ireland, who had no other revenue than the milk of three cows; and when their milk ran dry, the people of his diocese used to furnish him with three others.' St. Bernard, describing the simplicity of Malachi's life, while he presided over the see of Down, relates, 'He had no servants, no hand maids, no country seats, see-lands, nor revenues, in short, of any kind, ecclesiastical or secular, even when bishop. For his Episcopal table there was nothing whatsoever set apart or appointed whereon a Bishop might live. Not even a house of his own was he possessed of. But he was almost incessantly going round all his parishes, serving the Gospel, and living of the Gospel, as the Lord appointed him, saying, *the laborer is worthy of his hire*.'* 'What is here said,' observes Dr. Lanigan, 'of Malachy not having any fixed mensal income, cannot mean, that there was no property really belonging to the see of Down, but that St. Malachy, who delighted in poverty, did not choose to exact the mensal portion from the *erenachs* or *corbes*, who had got the church lands into their possession and management.' The See was certainly sufficiently endowed before the close of the twelfth century." (*Ant. of Down* &c., pp. 162, 163.)

On the subject of the ground allotted, as Bishop Montgomery observes, to the Vicar's use, Dr. Reeves has the observations which follow:—

"As the parsons were not obliged to be resident, there were very few parishes where they had any land; but in most of the parishes there was the Vicar's *gort*, as it was sometimes called, or garden, as in the Tyrone inquisition, the Irish *gort*, the Latin *hortus*, and the English *garden*, being cognate terms. These *gorts* are now held by the rectors with the great glebes, which were allotted at the plantation of Ulster; they are very small, generally a field or two, close to the old church. Thus in Tamlaghtard, or Magilligan, there is a small denomination of five acres and four perches, near the ruined church, held by the rector, and set out on the Ordnance Map as a distinct townland, called *Gort*. They varied in size from one acre to a sessiagh, but five acres might be considered as the average.

"The nomination to any one of the three parochial offices above mentioned," continues Dr. Reeves, "was considered a sufficient title for ordination; and any of them could be held by persons so low as subdeacon, as appears by the following instances, taken from the Registry of Primate Swayne, A.D. 1435. John, Bishop of Connor, held an ordination in the parish church of St. Feghin, of Termonfeighin, when among others ['William O'Kynney, *Herenach* of Artrea, on exhibiting the title of the said *herenachy*,*'] was admitted to the order of subdeacon; Patrick O'Mulkene, rector of Killowe, and Magonius O'Douen, rector of Drumfada, in the diocese of Armagh, to the order of deacon; and Patrick

* Dr. Reeves gives here St. Bernard's *Latin*, and a little before Fleury's *French*, for which, in each case, we have taken the liberty of substituting the Translation, for the benefit of our more general readers.

OMolochan, rector of Enns, [Termoneeny,] in the diocese of Derry, to the priesthood. On the 24th of February, 1441, the primate ordained, in the parish church of Drummeskin, John Oumstega, rector of Drummeragh, to the order of deacon; and on the 17th of March in the same place, to the *prima tonsura*, William Omkerell of the Diocese of Dromore [*to obtain a sinecure benefice.*] On the 25th. of March, 1439, Nellanus OKerrolan, rector of Kyllsyyl [Killeeshil] was ordained deacon by Primate Swayne; and Patrick OCassaly [Culdee of the Church of Armagh,*] to the title of the same,* (*Colton's Visitation of Derry*, p. 119.) [We have had an instance of the combination of the offices of *Vicar* and *Erenach* in a preceding page, (p. 25.)]

And we may here adduce (from Prene's Register, *Tr.* pp. 603, 4.) a document of some interest in its way, exhibiting a case in which the offices of *Rector* and *Erenach* were combined, and throwing some additional light on the position and circumstances of the latter in the middle of the Fifteenth Century. It runs thus :—

"A Mandate from the Primate to a Suffragan, requiring him to issue a Monition to a Rector and Herenach, enjoining him to reside within a month, and to summon back the rest of the Tenants, who had been dispersed from their lands, on pain of deprivation.

"John, &c., [on occasion of the Visitation of] our Diocese, &c., to P[eter,] Bishop of Clogher, our Suffragan, Greeting, &c.

"According to a complaint which has been laid before us, our son beloved in Christ, John McCampbell, *Herenach* and *Rector* of the Church of Errigal, belonging to our Diocese,—not content with not residing at the Church aforesaid, for the due maintenance of hospitality as usual, and attendance to other offices devolving on him, or with dismissing the natives and other tenants to disperse themselves elsewhere,—is even allowing to lie idle and indisposed of, the lands which he should hold in farm, as it is said, from you and the Church of Clogher, inasmuch as that by means of his nefarious conduct, neither is the land occupied by himself, for your advantages and that of the church, so as to support such burdens as be due from it, nor will others, who might be disposed to take and reside on it, venture to do so, intimidated as they are by the fear of him. We, therefore, desiring to do our utmost to obviate the disadvantage likely to result from such a state of matters, and to provide for the case such opportune remedy as may be expedient, do, by these presents, firmly enjoin, charge, and command you, our Reverend Brother, (on whom, under existing, as well as in other, circumstances, we shall place full reliance in the Lord,) that, even by virtue of your obedience, and on pain of forswearing the oath made by you to us and our church of Armagh, you publicly and openly admonish, or cause to be admonished, really and effectively, the said master John, that he summon back to him all the dispersed natives whatsoever belonging to the Church of Errigal, or any others its tenants, to inhabit the lands, within the space of one month immediately following after the time of your Monition made to him, and reside himself there, as the *Rector* and *Herenach* ought, and is bound, to do : and all this, on pain of deprivation, both of the Rectory of Errigal aforesaid, and, also of the *Herenachy* abovementioned, belonging to the same place ; which penalty, if he shall not obey such monition effectively, by constant residence, it is our will that he do, *ipso facto*, incur. Admonishing him, at the same time, either to renounce all claim to the farm aforesaid, or fulfil what is his part in connection with the same ; or else, freely to permit, and in no wise, directly, or indirectly, to impede, others willing to take the lands belonging to yourself and your Church, but that they may take and inhabit them in peace, so long as it shall be your pleasure. And if he shall do the contrary, (what accords not with reason or equity,) do you, as often as he shall so act, excommunicate him by our authority, and denounce him publicly and solemnly, as may be expedient, as one that has been, and is, excommunicated : not desisting from such course of procedure, until you shall have received from us, in legitimate form, a mandate to the contrary, in this behalf. Given under our *Seal ad causas*, the second day of the month of November, Anno Dni. 1441, and of our Consecration the Second Year."

Connected with the subject of the preceding document, and the Church of Errigal, (or *Argull*, as it is in the original,) Harris has, in his edition of Ware's Works, (*Bishops of Clogher*, page 185,) mention of a transaction that would seem to have occurred just about the time when this manifesto was issued, and which may partly help to explain it. In his account of Peter Maguire, bishop of Clogher from A.D. 1432 to 1449, he states of him, that

"He made an Exchange with the Archbishop of Armagh of the Church of *Mucknau*, [it should be *Mucknau*, i.e. *Mucknoe*, *Castleblaney*,] and the *Herenach* belonging to it, in the diocese of *Clogher*, for the Churches and *Herenachs* of *Argull*, *Termon*, and *Collessill* [Killeeshil] in the Diocese of *Armagh*, the Consents of each Chapter being first obtained. A Copy of the Instrument of this Exchange is among the Manuscripts of St. Sepulchre's Library, in a Book intitled, *Presidents of the See of Armagh*, p. 51. The word *Herenach*, mentioned in this instrument, is taken in a different Sense from what it is in the Antiquities (chap. xvii.) There it is taken for the Office of an Archdeacon, or something like it, here for the Estate or Lands, which supported such officer : As the word *Burpage* in its general Acceptation, is taken for a Socage Tenure in a Borough, yet in the Life of *Herlewin*, Bishop of *Leighlin*, it is taken for a dwelling House, or Burgess's House, in a *Borough*."

This criticism on the word *Herenach* seems altogether without foundation. The *Erenachs* mentioned in the above exchange were, no doubt, the persons who bore the name. Probably the *Erenach* of Errigal did not relish being under a new master of the Anglican extraction, in place of his former diocesan, Peter Maguire, the bishop of Clogher aforesaid, who was, of course, of the Irish race. This Peter, when Interdict was denounced by the Primate against Charles OMellan, Dean of Armagh, and all who should communicate with him, was obedient at first to the denunciation, and observed the Interdict, but was afterwards led by his sympathies to break it, communicating with OMellan in *missa et mensa*, at mass and at board, for which conduct he drew down the Primate's denunciations against himself also, as suspended, excommunicated, and interdicted, as "an offender against the Church of Rome, the Primate himself, and the Church of Armagh, a despiser of the Keys of Peter, an injurer of the ecclesiastical power, a perjurer towards our Lord the Pope, &c., &c." (*Prene Tr.* 453.)

Having, in what precedes, brought down our account of the Coarbs and Erenachs to the time of Primate Ussher, it will be proper to notice in the next place the short Essay composed on the same subject by that learned prelate, which occupies twentyfour pages of his *Works* in the 8vo. Edition of them published by Dr. Elrington. (Vol. xi. pp. 421-445.) The following sketch of this Essay, from the pen of Dr. E. himself, will give the reader some notion of its character. (See Ussher's Life, *Works*, Vol. 1. pp. 28, 29 :—

"About the same time [i.e. A.D. 1609, or a year or two before,] the attention of Ussher was turned to a very different subject, by the constant disputes and litigations to which it had given rise, and he composed a work on the original and first institution of *Corbes*, *Herenachs*, and *Termon lands*. This treatise was not published (1) but sent over to Archbishop Bancroft, and presented by him to King James. The substance of it was printed by Sir Henry Spelman in his Glossary, and due acknowledgements made to the author, whom he designates as '*Literarum insignis Pharus*,' [i.e. 'a distinguished light-house in the literary world.'] In this learned treatise Ussher maintains, that the *Termon* lands were those set apart for the endowments of churches, as by the Canons of various Councils it was ordered that a bishop should not consecrate a church until an instrument of such donation were presented to him. The name he derives from the Irish *Tearmon*, signifying a sanctuary, and brings forward an example, *Termonfechin*, the sanctuary of Fechin, with little expectation, no doubt, that are long those lands would form his residence as Archbishop of Armagh. Of these *Termon* lands the bishops were the chief lords. The *Herenachs* he supposes to have been *archdeacons*, not the archdeacons who exercise jurisdiction under the bishop, but those who, according to primitive practice, were of a rank inferior to presbyters. The *Corbes* were of a still higher rank, and were the *rural deans*, archpresbyters, or chorepiscopi, from which latter name, by a barbarous contraction, the word was derived, *comorbanus*, *corbanus*, *corba*. (!) (2). Both *Corbes* and *Herenachs* were anciently married men, until celibacy was enforced upon the clergy, and we find their sons succeeding to their offices. The *Herenachs* held these lands from the bishop, dean, and chapter, and had renewals upon the first entry of every new *Herenach*, and upon the consecration of every new bishop ; the *Herenach* was bound to reside upon and manure the land, out of the profits to pay rent to the bishop, to keep hospitality, and to repair part of the fabric of the church. A certain portion of free land remained to the *Herenach*, which was termed *ad honorem ville*, and was not chargeable with any rent. The first mention of a *Corbe* is in the Annals of Ulster, at the year 858, or 859, according to the ordinary computation. There it is recorded 'that OCarroll, King of Ossory, assisted with other kings, brought his army into the field against the King of Taraughe : but Imfeathgna, Patrick's Corbe, and Imnuairlech Finno his Corbe, interposing themselves, OCarroll was persuaded to yield to St. Patrick and his Corbe.' (3) Ussher has brought forward various passages from ancient records, more particularly those of Armagh, in support of his theory : however he concludes his tract with great modesty : 'So would I have none to imagine, that I take upon me peremptorily to determine any thing in this matter of antiquity, as being not ignorant with what obscurities questions of that nature are involved, especially where help of ancient monuments is wanting.'"

The notes referred to in this passage are these following :—

* Dr. Reeves gives here the Latin original.

"(1). It was first published by General Vallancey in the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, from the MS. in the handwriting of Ussher, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, and dated 1609. It will be found in Vol. XI. of the Archbishop's Works, p. 419.

"(2). Colgan derives it from *Comorbán*, a successor, as frequent mention is made in the Annals of Ireland of the Comorbans of St. Patrick, Albe, Jarlath, Columb, Fechin, and others.

"(3). I am indebted [says Dr. E.] to my friend, Dr. Todd, for a correction of the Archbishop's quotation from the Annals of Ulster. He mistook the preposition *im* for part of the name. It should be Feathghna, Corbe of Patrick, and Suairlech, Corbe of Finnian."

Such is the outline given by Dr. Elrington of the contents of this tract of Ussher's, which, from its being thought worthy of presentation to the King of England by the Archbishop of Canterbury, must, no doubt, have been considered at the time a very admirable production in its way. But the reader who has paid any attention to the perusal of the present Memoir may easily see that the views propounded in the outline given are very far from being accurate or satisfactory. One who might form an estimate by anticipation, of the probable value of Ussher's Tract on "Corbes," &c., from the known character and learning of its famous author, would have no small reason for disappointment in the perusal. Yet, considering the early period of his life at which it was written, he being then under thirty years of age, (so that Dr. Lanigan has not altogether groundlessly styled it a 'juvenile tract,') it is no wonder if we find not in it such a satisfactory and well-digested account of the matter of which it treats, as might have been produced at a time when the writer's judgment and learning had attained to fuller maturity. Taking the work, however, according to his own modest account of its aim and purpose, it was certainly sufficient for the end which he specifies in it. Immediately after the extract from it above given by Dr. Elrington, it closes with these words, "My purpose only was to point unto the fountains, and to compare the present state of things with the practice of ancient times: thinking I have done well, if hereby I may give occasion of further enquiry unto those who have greater judgment and more leisure to hold out the truth of this business."

There was, however, another important requisite for the understanding of the subject, of which Ussher's Treatise exhibits a greater deficiency, than it does of judgment or leisure,—a deficiency strikingly apparent in its pages, and the occasion in them of serious errors concerning the matter treated of, from which a familiar acquaintance with the Irish Annals would easily have saved this learned author. The oddest instance of a mistake originating in this cause is that which Dr. Elrington remarks on, as having been noticed to him by Dr. Todd. It is one, indeed, which no careful and intelligent reader of the Annals in the original language could possibly have fallen into. Nor will it be without use to notice this error a little more particularly here, before entering into a fuller Analysis of the contents of the work in which it occurs; as it may be of importance to shew, that however great Ussher's learning and ability in other respects, he was not altogether competent, at the same time, to pronounce with much authority on the subject now under consideration; and that the opinions expressed by him in regard to it, merit less attention, than what might, from his great fame, have been supposed. But in truth, without any wish to depreciate the vast learning, laborious industry, or accurate scholarship, of so venerable an ornament of Ireland and its church, we may justly say, that he knew more of the facts and arithmetic, than of the philosophy of history: and that his mind, however stored with information on the subject of Irish, as well as other antiquarian lore, from the study of such authors as he could peruse in the original himself, lacked, notwithstanding, that sort of exercise on the contents of our native records in the Irish tongue, which would have enabled him to treat satisfactorily and conclusively of such a subject as that of the Coarbs and Erenachs of Ireland, and the history of their Termon lands.

The passage on which the mistake is founded, reads thus in the Four Masters, at A.D. 857:—

"Ro tioneadh rioghdaí mhaithe Ereann las in righ Maileseachlainn, go Raith Aodha mic Bric, im Fethghna, comharba Patraicc, agus im Suairleach, comharba Finnia, do dhenamh siodhu agus caonchomhras fear n'Ereann, conidh ann do radh Cearbhall, tighearna Osraighe, eighreir comharba Phadraic agus Finnia do righ Ereann." &c.

The simple English of all this is as follows:—

"There was assembled a royal meeting of the nobles of Ireland, at Rath-Aodha-mic-Bric, [now Rahugh, Co. Westmeath,] by the king Mael-seachlainn, [i.e. the king of Tara, and of all Ireland,] with Fethghna, coarb of Patrick, and with Sorley, coarb of Finnian, to establish peace and concord among the men of Ireland; on which occasion, Carrol, lord of Ossory, conceded to the king of Ireland the full demand of the coarbs of Patrick and Finnian."

It seems unexplainably strange how Ussher himself, or whatever Irish scholar was able to gather out for him the sense of the above passage with the amount of success apparent in his version of it, could have fallen into the absurd mistake of patching together, twice in the same short sentence, the common, universally used, preposition, *im*, 'with,' and the proper name of an individual; particularly where the individual, in one of the two instances, was one of those who are usually reckoned as the ancient archbishops of Armagh. It seems strange that a reasonably good Irish scholar could have missed seeing, that the *im* was necessary to the sense of the original, even had it by accident been omitted. It is like as if an imperfect English Scholar met with this sentence,—"*The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland held a Privy Council, which was attended by the primate and also by the bishop of Meath,*" and that in attempting to repeat it with a slight alteration of the structure, he had been misled, by a somewhat illegible hand in the manuscript, to give it in this form, "*The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland held a Privy Council, whereat Bythepriate and Bythebishop of Meath were in attendance:*" for the oddness of such blunders, to be sufficiently comprehended, must come before our minds in a language with which we are familiar. It seems, however, that Ussher knew as little of his 'Imfeathna, Patrick's Corbe,' being identical with his acquaintance, 'Fethghna, Primate of Armagh,' as he appears to have done of the fact, that he was himself afterwards a successor of 'Imfeathna' in the 'Corbeship.'

If this appear a little hard on the venerable Ussher, it must be borne in mind, that he himself was able to be severe on others who fell into such mistakes; as in the case of the notorious author, Thomas Dempster, the Scotchman, who has been surnamed 'the saint-stealer,' from his absurd attempt to transplant into his own country the birth-places of the ancient saints of Ireland. This writer, who may be regarded in some degree as the Ledwich of Scotland, fell into an odd blunder connected with the name of St. Columkille's island of Hy, (called otherwise in our old records, Ia, Iona, Hyona, Icolumkille, &c., almost promiscuously,) which Ussher notices in the following terms: (*Britt. Ecc. Antiqq. cap. XV. Works. Vol. vi. p. 240, or fol. Edn. Lond. 1687, p. 365.*)—

"Ludicrous indeed is the exhibition Thomas Dempster hath made of himself before the world, in discovering us, under the names of Hy-destinate, Hu or Hy, and Iona, three different islands; the first of those terms, heretofore unheard of by us, having been fabricated out of these words of Bede, '*Bishop Aidan was a monk, as having been from the island which is called Hy destinate:*' although Bede himself, in another place, introduces this proper name separated by a wide interval, of several intervening words, from the same participle; where he writes in like sort of Finan, successor to Aidan: '*The person who succeeded to him in the bishopric was Finan; and it was from Hy, the Scots' island and monastery, that he also was destinate,*' [i.e. sent on his mission.] And again, in the case of Colman, successor to Finan: '*He came to the island of Hy, from which he had been destinate to preach the Word to the nation of the English.*'"

So far concerning 'Imfeathna, Patrick's Corbe,' and the island of 'Hydestinate.'—And now as to the contents of Ussher's treatise on 'Corbes,' 'Herenaches,' &c., more in detail. Its method is described, in the opening paragraph, in these words:—

* "The position of these words is sufficient to confute the absurd error of those who have given *Hydestinate* as the name of the island of Hy." Smith on Bede, iii. 17. In Hussey's Bede (p. 121) '*Hydestinatus*,' is given as a Various Reading to be found in Cod. V.

"For the declaration of the original and first institution of Corbes, Herenaches, and Termon lands, it is to be considered, 1. Of what nature these lands be. 2. How they came to be possessed by the Termoners. 3. Who these Corbes and Herenaches may seem to have been, who now are the chief of the Termon men. 4. and lastly, Who had interest in the profits of these lands."—(*Works*. Vol. XI. p. 421.)

The first of these four points Ussher settles in a couple of pages: (i.e. of his *Works* in 8vo. pp. 422, 423.) "In times past," he remarks, "it was provided, that whoever founded a church should endow the same with certain possessions, for the maintenance of those who were to attend God's service therein; insomuch that a bishop might not consecrate any church, before an instrument of such a donation were delivered by the founder." Then, having cited in proof of this statement various church laws enacted in foreign councils, &c., our author goes on to say as follows:—

"Now Herenache and Termon lands being free from all charges of temporal lords, as all ecclesiastical possessions were by the fourth constitution of the council held at Cashel, anno 1172, the bishops being the chief lords of them, and churches being commonly built upon them, the reparation of a great part whereof lay continually upon the Herenaches that belonged to them, there is no question to be made but that they were of this nature, [i.e. of the nature of the lands already described as set apart for the support of churches, at, or previously to, the time of their consecration:] and forasmuch as unto these lands certain freedoms were annexed, namely, the privilege of sanctuary, as appeareth by the office taken for the county of Cavan, [p. 51, *sup.*] the land from thence was called Termon, or free and protected land." [Then, after allusion to the case of some lands that were free from any claim, either of temporal lords, or of the church, Ussher adds:] "Our Termoners, I say, were not free after this sort, but tributary unto the church, as may be seen in the register of Clogher, where Matthew, bishop of Clogher, is said to have granted certain lands unto one Philip O'Heogain, 'for two shillings each year, to be paid under the name of tribute to himself and his successors, and the church of Clogher;' and a little after, 'which piece of land Patrick Reagh O'Heogain, herenach of the said church, MADE TRIBUTARY to us and the church of Clogher, by paying thereupon to us and our successors, one shilling from it each year, of current money.'"

The statement of Ussher at the commencement of this last paragraph, that the bishops were (originally) the chief lords of the Termon lands, is unquestionably erroneous, from what has been already shewn concerning them in this memoir: and it is at variance even with the evidence of the curious extract which he cites from the now lost '*Register of Clogher*.' Although he does not give any clue to the exact date of the extract, yet the document of which it forms a part must have been drawn up between A.D. 1287 and 1361, or very soon after the latter year, there having been but two Matthews among the bishops of Clogher, the first of whom occupied the office from 1287 to 1316, while the other was appointed in 1361, and filled it (according to Ware,) "but a short time." This document strongly corroborates the view put forward in the preceding pages, on the authority of the *Ulster Inquisitions*, &c., that the bishops had originally no claims on the Termon lands whatsoever, but that the Corbs and Erenachs voluntarily submitted to pay them tribute, for the purpose of securing their favor and protection.—For it brings before us the new feature of an episcopal deed, certifying that it was really the act of the Erenach himself, in the particular case alluded to, which made his land tributary to the Bishop of Clogher. Can it be doubted, that, had we within reach a sufficient number of kindred records, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they would supply much additional evidence of like tendency in connection with our present subject.

With the *Second* point considered in Ussher's Essay, viz, Who the Termoners or tenants, generally, of the Termon lands, were, and how they came to hold the position occupied by them? he takes up the next half dozen pages of his work, (pp. 424-429), quoting in them at large various learned Latin authorities ('Cujacius's exposition of Justinian's seventh novell,' 'Ludovicus Pius, *apud Ansegisum*, in the copy which Reinerus Reineccius used,' &c.,) and foreign laws connected with the feudal system, which are of no very great importance to our present purpose, and with which, accordingly, we shall not much care to trouble the reader of these pages. What is of most consequence in this part of the subject, is the conclusion arrived at by our author, concerning the position and circumstances of the Termoners on their lands: and this having been already set forth at page 18 of the present Memoir, need not here be repeated. Suffice it to remind the reader, that he represents the tenants universally of the Termon lands, the Erenachs themselves not excepted, as being in a state of serfdom and vassalage to the bishops, as lords of those ecclesiastical territories.

"Of which servitude," he remarks, "a strip may seem to remain to this day upon the Herenache, who besides an annual rent paid *nomine tributi* [i.e. under the name of tribute,] (as before I noted out of the register of Clogher,) doth likewise give to the bishop a fine upon the marriage of every of his daughters, which they call *Luach impighe*, as the Bishop of Kilmore, who doth usually receive it, informed me; so that I take no hold [i.e. do not question the probable veracity] of the words of Dermicus O'Kane, one of the corbes of the North, and one of the Jurors in the Inquisition for the church lands, in the county of Colerain, used to the Bishop of Derry, which as his lordship told me, were to this effect: *Non debet dominus &c.*, [in English thus, 'Our Lord ought not to alter the ancient rent (*antiquum censum*) but if he stand in need of necessities, fatted heifers, &c., he ought to apply to us, and we are bound to supply him. For whatever we have is our lord's, and we ourselves also are his.']"

Yet, according to the Inquisition Report furnished by this Dermot O'Kane and his fellow-jurors, (p. 7 *sup.*) the Termon lands were originally set apart for their proper purpose "long before any busshops were made in the said kingdome of Ireland:" and they also state, "that the said portion of land, and the third parte of the tiethes soe *continued free* unto the corbe or herenagh, for many yeres, *untill the church of Rome established bushoppes* in this kingdome, and decreed that everie corbe or herenagh should give unto the bushopp (within whose dioces he lived) a yerely portion, more or less, according to his proportion out of his entire erenachie." The statement of this O'Kane, therefore, to Bishop Montgomery, cited by Ussher above must refer, not to the original condition of the corbs and erenachs, but to that in which they were placed at the time when the statement in question was made.

As to the curious custom which Ussher notices, of the Erenachs of Kilmore being obliged, on the marriage of each of their daughters, to pay the bishop a fine, in what it originated, or how far it was a token of servitude, I shall not take on me to say. It must not be forgotten, however, that according to what seems to be its etymological meaning, (see p. 29 *sup.*) the word *erenach* implies rule and official authority, rather than servitude: and that in the old Annals of Ireland they who are so called are very far from being represented as persons of low or servile rank: as we have seen in those Annals mention of an "Erenach of Glandalough, Head of the dignity of the Province" of Leinster, (at A.D. 948,) of another who was a "distinguished Bishop and Erenach of Innishkeen," (A.D. 961,) of another that was Erenach of Lusk, and Chief of Hy-Colgain (A.D. 1055) &c., &c.. (See pp. 23, 24, *sup.*) So that the notion that the *erenachs* generally were of inferior and servile condition, seems at best questionable, and not sufficiently supported by our Irish authorities. To the not unimportant testimony of these latter, however, Ussher does not even once refer in the part of his Essay at present under consideration.

The *Third* part, concerning "the original of the Corbes and Herenaches who bear themselves as head lords over" the church tenants, occupies the next six pages of Ussher's treatise: and as in this division of the work he deals more directly with the subject which we have immediately in hand, we shall, therefore, find it expedient to give the reader a somewhat fuller account of its contents, than there was any occasion to do in our notice of the former portions of the treatise.

This part, then, opens by directing attention to the office of the *aeconomus*, or bursar, to whom was entrusted, according to very ancient laws of the church, the duty of superintending the distribution of her temporal substance. By a constitution of the Emperor Leo, enlarged afterwards by Justinian, (in the middle of the Sixth Century,) and extended to all provinces of the Roman Empire (which did not, however, include Ireland,) it is ordained, "that no *aeconomus* entrusted with the management of church property, is to have the power of alienating to any person whatsoever, farms or tenements, rural or urban, or any im-

* The quotation from the Register of Clogher is given by Ussher in the Latin original.

movable property, husbandmen, or slaves, belonging to those farms," and which had with them been given to the church; and that any *œconomus* so doing should be deprived of his office, and bound to compensate from his own property for any damage suffered by that of the church in such a transaction. "The execution of this office," observes Ussher, "was, in times past, committed to those who were *archipresbyteri*, or *archidiaconi*," i.e. archpresbyters, or archdeacons: in illustration of which statement he adduces a couple of citations from ancient authorities, (one of them being that act of the Second Council of Braga, that has been already quoted at p. 30 of this Memoir :) and then proceeds as follows :—

"The archidiaconus and the Herenache have in the Irish tongue both the same name, viz. *Eireineach*, or, as some write it, *Oirchindeuch*, and the name of the *Corbe*, *Corpach*, or *Corbuch* (for the Irish use the letters *p* and *b* indifferently) and the chorepiscopus seemeth to me to have his original from the same with archipresbyter. [*sic.*] '*Quos Græci Chorepiscopos, hoc est, certarum regiuncularum, in qualibet diœcesi, speculatores, alii archidiaconos, alii archipresbyteros vocant, in nostra ecclesia cathedrali, archidiaconi, in reliqua vero diœcesi decanorum ruralium nomine censentur.*' Our Corbes and Herenaches, besides the office of gathering up the bishops' rents, were likewise charged with maintaining of hospitality, relieving the poor, and entertaining travellers and strangers. That the *chorepiscopus* of old had some especial care over the poor, appeareth by the last canon save one of the council of Neocæsarea. But that charge properly belonged to the deacons, who had the oversight and disposing of the ecclesiastical monies, as Origen noteth, and the care of providing for the poor and strangers, (whence in times past *zenodochia* [i.e. places of reception for strangers] were called *diaconia*, [or *deaconries*,]) and so, to the *archdeacon*, as the principal of that order: I mean the ancient *archidiaconi*, who in degree were inferior to the *presbyteri*, not the *archdeacons* of higher rank [such as those of modern times,] that exercise jurisdiction under the bishop.

"And to that former kind of *archidiaconi* do I refer the Herenaches, who therefore were so many in number in every diocese, and, for aught that I can learn, were wont to be admitted *ad primam tonsuram et diaconatum*, and not promoted *ad presbyterium*, [i.e. 'admitted to the first tonsure and deaconship, but not to the office of presbyter, or priest;'] But the *Corbe*, whom I suppose to have been the same with *chorepiscopus*, or archipresbyter, was of a higher dignity, and stated [*qu.* 'stationed?'] in *ecclesia matrice*; and had also in many places, one or more Herenaches under him. In Latin he was called *plebanus*, as is found in the office taken for the county of Cavan. [p. 51. *sup.*] Now that *plebanus* was the same with a *rural dean*, *archipresbyter*, or *chorepiscopus*, may appear by the testimony of the canonists, cited by Isidorus Moponius. 'A rural archipresbyter or dean,' says Moponius 'is otherwise named a *plebanus*, (a *regimine plebis*) from his governing of the people: in connection with which office, if he have perpetual chaplains [or clerical assistants,] in his church, he is spoken of enjoying a *dignity*, or if he be in a collegiate church and in a parochial cure.'

"Wherewith compare [i.e. with the description just given of a rural archpresbyter or dean,] this *certificate* delivered unto Sir John Davis, three or four years since, by an Irish scholar in the North.—'A Corbanship [*corbanatus*, i.e. a coarbship,] or *plebanate*, is a dignity, and one that at present appertains to the king, though it did formerly to the pope. He [that holds it] must needs be the [the incumbent] in a mother church, [and] in holy orders, and he should be owner of all the tithes belonging to it; and the benefices annexed to it are his, and it is he who has the right of collation and presentation to them. The name is derived from his being over the people forming the congregation, (*plebi ecclesiasticæ*), of the mother church. He should have with him a certain number of priests forming a sort of collegiate body. He has the first stall in his own church. He has also an empty stall in the cathedral church [of his diocese]; and a voice in every Chapter, as well public as private. He is inscribed in the Roman Register, and is therefore the occupant of a *dignity*.'

"The consideration of all these circumstances put together, have [has,] induced me to think that our Corbe at the first institution was chorepiscopus, whose name and dignity being unknown unto the ruder Irish, no marvel though some of them have deformed the name of Corbe to *Converbis* (for so some of them in Latin stile him) or *Comfurbach* in Irish, which importeth as much as *conterraneus*. [i.e. 'a native, or joint-owner, of the same land.'] In the Irish Annals the name is written thus, *Comrba*, or *Comhurba*, where the first mention of a Corbe that I find is at the year eight hundred and fifty-eight from Christ's nativity, (or eight hundred and fifty nine from his incarnation, after the computation of the church of England) there it is recorded, that OCarrol king of Ossory, assisted with other kings, brought his army into the field against the king of Taraughe; but Imfeathna, Patrick's Corbe, and Imsuairlech Finno his Corbe, interposing themselves, OCarrol was persuaded to yield to St. Patrick and his Corbe.' So in the same Annals [of Ulster, *note.*] at the year of our Lord 920. (or 921. after the common account,) is noted the death of Moeanach Mac Siadhail, St. Comghall his Corbe, the chief head (as he is there called) of all the learning or antiquities of Ireland.

"It may be objected, that the Corbes and Herenaches always used to marry, and therefore not like to have been *archipresbyteri*, or *archidiaconi*. But unto this I answer, that in Ireland, when churches were there first erected, no such law was admitted, which should restrain *presbyteri* or *diaconi* from the state of wedlock; for proof whereof I allege the testimony of him, whose authority is of highest esteem with our people of Ireland, I mean St. Patrick, who had to his father *Calpurnius diaconum* [i.e. 'Calpurnius the deacon,'] and to his grandfather *Potitum presbyterum*, [i.e. 'Potitus the presbyter,'] as Probus setteth down in the first book of his life; and he himself saith also in his confession: *Patrem habui* &c, i.e. in English, 'I had for father Calpurnius the deacon, son to the late presbyter Potitus.'

Ussher then refers, in further proof of the same point, to that ancient Canon attributed to St. Patrick, which enjoins that the wife of every clerical person, from the priest down to the ostiary, should, in going abroad any where, have her head veiled; and also to the case of those primates before Celsus, or Kellach, who had for so many generations occupied their office by hereditary succession. He notices particularly those eight individuals of the number, whom St. Bernard speaks of (see p. 23 *sup.*) as "married, and without orders, yet still men of education," or *literate* persons, (according to the more exact rendering of the original,) whose condition, he observes, was precisely similar to that "of our Corbes and Herenaches,

"for as those in time possessed themselves of the place of the archbishop ['were dispossessed of their place by the archbishops,] would be nearer the truth. R. K.] so did others in like manner keep in their sept the dignity of the *archipresbyter*, by the name of *Corbes*, and others of the *archdeacon*, by the name of *Herenaches*, very little differing from those, which in Wales were called lay abbots, of whom Giraldus Cambrensis thus writeth, which is a testimony very pertinent to this purpose, '*Notandum quod hæc Ecclesia*' &c. [Then follows the rest of the original of the passage relative to the Church of St. Paternus, which has been already given to our readers, in English, at the head of p. 23, *sup.*]

"Our Corbes and Herenaches" continues Ussher, "do commonly speak Latin, and are in account as clergymen, being subject unto the bishop's visitation, giving unto him a subsidy at his entrance, and remaining chargeable with proxies and refectons; whereof in the first office taken for the county of Tyrone die 27^o Julii, 1608, this evidence is given: '*Ac ulterius*' [i.e., or, in English, thus,] 'And further, the aforesaid jurors do upon their oaths, say, that in each of the said baronies, beside those lands which heretofore were, and still are, possessed by such as are now lay persons, there are certain other lands, of which certain clerics, or literate persons, who are called Herenachs, have been seised of old, &c. Nevertheless, each of the said Herenachs used, and ought, to pay, to the archbishop or bishop in whose diocese the lands which they possessed were situated, a certain *subsidium caritativum* [or charitable subsidy,] refectons, and an annual payment, according to the quantity of his land, and the custom of the country.'" (pp. 434, '5.)

He then goes on to say, that similar observations apply to the Coarbship, or Coarb's office, likewise; and that it was not only subject to the bishop's visitation, but sometimes to being sequestered by him, "no less than other places ecclesiastical were." This he proves to have been the case in the fifteenth century, by a record pertaining to the Coarbship of S. Kevin of Glendalough, of which he adduces the following portions from the Register of John Walton, Archbishop of Dublin, anno 1473. (We translate from the Latin original, cited in Ussher.)—

"John, by divine commiseration archbishop of Dublin, and primate of Ireland, to the clerics, vassals, *ascriptitii*, and other inhabitants of our town and entire lordship of Glindelaghe, including the lands, the woods, groves, and all other places belonging to that our side manor, Greeting, Grace, and Benediction.

"Seeing that for certain reasonable causes produced before us, which justly influence our mind, we have determined on sequestrating, and do sequestrate by these presents, the office of the Coarbship in that place, with all its emoluments and appurtenances;—We appoint Thady O'Kelly, clerk, of the said town and church of Glendalough, guardian of the sequestration, and of such rights and appurtenances as have accrued

* Synod. Augustan. A.D. 1548. In English thus: "They whom the Greeks call *chorepiscopi*, i.e. inspectors of certain lesser districts in each diocese, and others *archdeacons*, others *archpresbyters*, are in connection with our cathedral church known by the name of archdeacons, but in other parts of the diocese [of Aix] by that of rural deans."

† The certificate or statement which follows is given by Ussher in the original Latin, but is here, as usual translated into English, as a more convenient form for the purposes of the present Essay. A similar remark applies to the extract from Isidorus Moscovius, (i.e. Isidore of Moscow, called, by mistake, in the printed Ussher, *Moponius*;) in the preceding paragraph.

of old, or may accrue, from the said office, to the period of our visitation of the church and residents of Glindelaghe aforesaid, an accounts of the emoluments of the said office, and of [all] matters appertaining thereto, being reserved for ourselves, &c. And we do further, from examination made into the ancient writings and monuments, or chartularies, belonging to our church of Dublin, pronounce, decree, and declare, by this our writ, that the conferring of the said office, whensoever it shall happen to be vacant, belongs of right to our disposal, and that of our successors, and to no other party, (provided only that the see of Dublin be full, and supplied with an archbishop.) Given in our manner of Finglas, the eleventh day of the month of December, *anno domini* 1473, and of our consecration the second year." (pp. 428, 435.)

With this record ends the third section of Ussher's treatise, containing such a mixture of learning and crudities as was natural enough to proceed from one of his great information, coupled with no small ignorance of some auxiliaries of material importance to a right understanding of the subject he had to deal with. Not to dwell further on the evidence of this furnished by his mention of the prelates 'Imfeathna' and 'Imsuairlech,' we may see additional proof of it in the opinion he expresses that the Erenachs were never admitted to any orders beyond the *prima tonsura* and the diaconate, whereas it is perfectly plain from the examples cited at pp. 23, 24, above, (not to refer to others,) that they were often, not priests merely, but bishops also. Then, as to the description of the 'Corbe's' official position given in the 'Certificate' of the Irish Scholar to Sir John Davies, it agrees well enough with what we might expect, from all that has been already advanced, to be that of an ordained coarb in the Anglo-Roman ages, inferior, of course, in hierarchical order, to the bishop of his diocese, yet honored with a stall in the cathedral,—and having at the same time, under himself, in his own collegiate or abbey church, a body of priests, belonging to that foundation, and who had the cure of souls in other benefices annexed to their monastery, which had originated probably in the visiting, preaching, and other labors, of individuals resident in it. The *certificate*, the *Cavan Inquisition*, and other records, do indeed prove, that the coarb was often called a *plebanus*, but only in later times, after the introduction of the authority and system of Rome into Ireland. And thus, although the coarb did occasionally bear the name of *plebanus*, or *pleban*, and this name, *pleban*, again, was in foreign countries borne at times by rural deans and archpresbyters, (as saith 'Moponius' above cited,) and the duties performed by archpresbyters, or archdeacons, in some places, were in others assigned, as we have seen, to *chorepiscopi*, or district bishops, yet still there is no proof adducible (but evidence enough to the contrary,) of the supposition, that the coarbs, who at first were *more commonly priests* than bishops, (and not necessarily even priests,) were in their original identical with the *chorepiscopi*, who were *always* bishops. The simple fact of the case connected with the use of the name *plebanus* appears to be this, that as the idea of a *chorepiscopus* was that which, in the foreign system of church discipline, came nearest to the anomalous notion of an ordinary bishop received among the old Irish people, for which reason their bishops have sometimes been called by the name of, and confounded with, *chorepiscopi*, so there was nothing in the system of the church abroad more nearly agreeing with the office of those coarbs who were not of episcopal rank, than that of the archpresbyter, *plebanus*, or rural dean: for which reason such coarbs, being in holy orders, and holding benefices in which they were assisted by the services of other subordinate clergymen, (according to the description given in that certificate of the Irish scholar,) received at times this appellation of *plebani*, or 'plebans,' and their benefices, in like manner, the name of *plebania*, or 'plebanries.'

The *Fourth* and last section of Ussher's tract 'on Corbes &c.' opens with the following paragraph:—

"It now resteth, in the last place, that I should show who had interest in the profits of these church lands, where for latter times it appeareth by the register of Clogher and other records, that the *Herenachs* held these lands by grants from the bishop, dean, and chapter, which by order were still to be renewed, both at the first entry of eve of Herenach, and upon the consecration of every new bishop. The Herenachs were tied to manure the Termon land, to reside upon it, and in no wise to alienate it unto any stranger. Out of the profits thereof they maintained hospitality, kept up their part of the fabric of the churches, and yielded a yearly rent to the bishops: a certain portion of free land remained unto themselves, which they call 'honorem ville,' not chargeable with any rent. In turning over the registers of the archbishops of Armagh, which by means of my uncle, the lord primate, I had occasion to peruse, I met with three evidences tending to this purpose. One containeth the grant of an Herenachy made by Milo, archbishop of Armagh, anno 1365, in this form: 'Universis sancte matris Ecclesie filiis, &c.'"

The document of which the first words are here given, and of which Ussher (in this place) gives the entire, is the same that has been already set forth at p. 37, above, in English, relative to the Erenach lands of Kilmore. It is followed, in the treatise on 'Corbes, &c.,' by another similar *Grant*, made by Primate Swayne, of certain lands in the diocese of Dromore, (then without a bishop,) to Maurice MacBryn, Herenach, in the year 1427. This record it is unnecessary to cite here, as it contains nothing adapted to throw any additional light on the subject before us. The *third* record of the same kind, above alluded to by Ussher, is that confirmation of the *Erenach* lands of Tynan to Patrick Maccaisaid, which we have put before the reader at page 38, *sup*.

The evidence of such records as these is sufficient to indicate, Ussher observes, in what way, "and upon what terms, these church lands have been held in latter days." "At the first beginning," he supposes "the same order to have been here, which commonly was used in other parts of Christendom;" and he then proceeds to show what that order was, viz:—that the tithes and profits of temporal lands appertaining to every church were taken up by a common receiver, and then distributed, 'according to the diversity of places,' into three, or into four, equal portions, one of which was assigned to the bishop for his maintenance. In illustration of this, our author here quotes various church laws, and precedents from ecclesiastical writers, such as we have exemplified on a limited scale at p. 30, *sup*. He concludes, that as in ancient times "the taking up of the collections, and, distribution of the church profits into their several portions was the special charge of the *archidiaconus*" in the church generally, so in Ireland it belonged to the *erenach*; it being one part of his office "to be the bishop's collector, as in the *Inquisition* for the county of Donegal is particularly set down of O'Morreeson, the Herenach of the parish of Clonemanny, 'That he was anciently accustomed to collect all the bishop's duties throughout the whole barony of Enishowen.'" But as it was only after the twelfth century had commenced, that tithes were generally levied in Ireland, or 'Corbes' employed in doing such services for bishops, as that here noticed, so it is only to the succeeding period of our ecclesiastical history that the observations of Ussher, now referred to, properly apply.

Next, after mention of the *Episcopal Fourths* of the Tithes, or 'Quarter Episcopal' as they are sometimes called, received by the Bishop of Clogher, our author proceeds to make the statement which follows:—

"Besides this, every Herenach payeth unto him a certain yearly rent out of the Termon lands belonging unto his church, which if I should guess to have been in consideration of the *quarta* due unto the bishop out of the temporal possessions of that church, I suppose my conjecture would be found to have in it more probability and conformity to the ancient church government, than that which by some of the northern jurors, men not very skilful in matters of such antiquity, was delivered, viz. that when the temporal lords in their several wars, and upon other occasions, began to charge and tax the Termon lands with divers exactions and impositions, the Corbes and Herenachs fled unto the bishop of the diocese wherein they lived, and besought his protection against the wrongs and injuries of the temporal lords, and therefore voluntarily gave unto the bishop a rent or pension out of their land."

The "guess" here suggested might be a natural enough one to enter the mind of a person, whose attention had never been drawn to the case of a system of bishops existing in a country for centuries without see lands, or other such episcopal property. But it would furnish an indubitable proof that the suggester understood not the true state of the case presented to his notice, which was better comprehended, it would seem, at least in regard to the particulars now more immediately in view, by those 'men not very skilful in matters of such antiquity,' who are mentioned in the same paragraph.

According to the statements already made in this Memoir concerning the earliest arrangements relative to episcopal pro-

perty in the Anglo-Roman ages of our history, the bishop, in addition to refectons &c., received from the Erenachs a twofold stipend, *first*, 'The Episcopal thirds,' or 'the Quarter Episcopal,' from the Tithes, which originated, as a general and compulsory payment, at the same period with the assessment of the Tithes themselves; and *secondly*, the Rents from the Termon and Erenach lands, which appear to have been, like the Refectons, a voluntary tribute,—at least, a tribute of the nature of those voluntary offerings which men cannot by any means avoid paying. So, while the part of the episcopal income derived from Tithes ought to have borne a fixed proportion to the whole amount of that impost in any particular locality, it was otherwise with the rents available from the lands, the amount of which was not regulated by any such invariable standard—Ussher, however, would represent matters differently, his "guess" being, that the yearly rent paid by the Erenach out of the Termon lands was "in consideration of the *quarta* due unto the bishop out of the temporal possessions" of the church. As to the distribution of the remaining parochial property (after the bishop's claims had been satisfied,) between the parson, vicar, and erenach, Ussher speaks thus:—

"There being to divide betwixt them the three quarters of the church goods which remained [i.e. in Clogher, &c.] above the bishop's allowance; for more quiet and ease, the *presbyteri* took wholly unto themselves the three quarters of the tithes, two whereof fell into the parson's lots, and one to the vicar's, without challenging any benefit in the temporal profits, except some small quantity of glebeland they were to dwell on; the *archidiaconus* or Herenach for keeping of hospitality, and entertainment of strangers, besides the common care of reparations, had assigned unto him the commodity [i.e. profits,] of the three quarters of the temporal lands, which he raised out of such rents, cuttings and services as were to be exacted of the *coloni ecclesiastici*, or Termoners." [Similarly where the bishop had a *third* of the tithes, Ussher supposes his rent from the Termon lands to represent, in like manner the third of the profits claimable by him from them.]

So far for Ussher's account of this matter, from which we have above adduced every passage of any material consequence or interest in connection with the object of our present study. The next great authority in such investigations, in order of time, is the learned Sir James Ware, who died in 1686, and to whose works (as edited, in 1745, by his continuator Harris), we shall next have occasion to refer; first, however, examining, as in the case of Primate Ussher, (*sup.* p. 55,) how far he was qualified, by a knowledge of the Irish language, and acquaintance with the Annals compiled in it, for determining satisfactorily the true state of a case, depending so far as we have seen, for its solution, on a due amount of information of that kind. With a view to settling this point, in the first instance, we shall just adduce the account which he gives, in the *History of the Bishops of Ireland*, of the origin of the See of *Raphoe*; which he commences with the following observations relative to its originators, and particularly to

Saint EUNAN.

"It is no easy task to point out the Time when the See of *Raphoe*, or (as it was antiently called, *Rath-both*, was first founded.) St. Columcille, a Man of great Virtue and Learning, and born of Royal Blood, founded a Monastery in this Place. He was at first called *Crimthan*, but afterwards had the Name of *Columba* given him for his Innocence, as *Adamnanus* (who wrote his Life) sayeth, or for his candid Simplicity, in the same Sense; as the Antient Scholiast on the *Ængusian* Martyrology observes, alluding perhaps to that Precept of our Saviour, (Math. 10,) 'Beye wise as Serpents and innocent as Doves.' This structure was afterwards repaired by *Adamnanus*, that celebrated Abbat of Hy; whom the venerable *Bede* (Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 16.) mentions with great Honour; calling him, 'a good, and a wise Man, and one of very ample knowledge in the Holy Scriptures.' It seems, it was St. *Eunan* who erected the Church of this Abby into a Cathedral; and who is looked upon to be the first Bishop of this See. But upon the strictest Inquiry I could make, I have not been able to discover the exact time in which he lived. It is not long since his Bed hath been shewn at *Raphoe*.

"As to the Successors of St. *Eunan* in the See of *Raphoe*, it must be confessed, there are very few Traces remaining of them, untill the Arrival of the *English* in the Reign of King Henry the II^d. I have met with but two [or three] of their Names in our Historians, which are as follow.

"[*Melbrigid* or *Brigidian Mac-Dornan*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, who died in 927, is said to have been Bishop of *Raphoe*, and is called in our Annals, Comorban of *Adamnanus*, who was Abbat of *Raphoe*. As the Abby of *Raphoe* was before his time erected into a Cathedral by St. *Eunan*, so the Comorban of *Adamnanus*, is understood to mean Bishop of *Raphoe*. See under *Melbrigid*, Archbishop of *Armagh*.]" (pp. 269, 270)

The words between the brackets in this extract contain the additions made by Harris to Ware's text as it stood originally. And the whole, as here cited, exhibits the full amount of light which the combined learning of the laborious author and his industrious editor was able to throw on the connection between the wellknown "Adamnanus, that celebrated Abbat of Hy," who wrote the Life of St. Columcille, and St. Eunan, supposed Bishop, whose age, 'upon the strictest enquiry he could make,' Ware professed himself wholly unable to determine.

A very moderate degree of acquaintance with the Irish Language and its orthography suffices, however, to settle the question. Adamnanus and Eunan are only different forms of the same name, neither of them the original form, but the one adapted to the Latin, the other to the English tongue. To an English reader the simple and unambiguous dissyllabic sound represented by the form Eunan, expresses, perhaps, as nearly as could be suggested by any such form, the sound of the Irish *Adhamhnan* or *Adhomhnan*; unless *A-oo-nan*, or *Au-ow-nan*, (sounded, as nearly as possible, as a dissyllable,) might appear to represent it somewhat more faithfully. There is no such Irish word or name as Eunan, so spelt; and to spell the sound intended, in Irish, we must adopt the form commencing with *Adh*; for *Eu* in Irish, has in its pronunciation, no trace whatever of the proper sound of the English *u*, or *oo*; it being sounded like *ao* in *gaol*, or *ayo* in *mayor*. Just in the same way, the Irish name *Aodh* is constantly represented in English by *Hugh*.*

Dr. Lanigan, in dealing with this case, exhibits no greater knowledge of the Irish language than Sir James Ware or Harris had done, but however, considerably more sagacity. Here are the comments which he has on it, in vol. iii. pp. 99, 100, of his Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.

"As Adamnan was particularly revered at Raphoe, as the patron saint of its monastery and church, it is certain that he had been closely connected with that place, and that, if not absolutely the founder, he was at least abbot there. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 506.) expressly calls him abbot of *Raphoe*, before he was promoted to Hy. Adamnan was the person, by whose name the succession at Raphoe used to be distinguished. Thus Malbrigid, who died archbishop [it should be 'abbot,' R.K.] of *Armagh*, in 926, is called a *comorban* (successor) not only of St. Patrick, but likewise of Adamnan, inasmuch as he had been abbot (not bishop, as Harris states, *Bishops*, p. 270.) of Raphoe, before he was raised to the see of *Armagh*, [viz. to the abbacy there, which he thenceforth held with that of Raphoe; R. K.] (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 386.)

"I strongly suspect that St. Eunan, who is usually called the first bishop of Raphoe, was no other than Adamnan; not that Adamnan was ever a bishop; for were he so, he could not have become abbot of Hy; [This is untrue. Fergna the Briton was bishop and abbot in 622. see p. 12, *sup.* R.K.] but that he was the ancient patron saint of that place before it became an episcopal see. Colgan never mentions this St. Eunan, [probably because he knew Irish too well to be able to anticipate the error which could make him different from Adamnanus, R.K.] nor could Ware discover any account of him. The first bishop of Raphoe, that we meet with, was Malduin MacKinfalaid, who died about 930. (*Tr. Th.* p. 509.) These observations are not indeed sufficient to shew, that Adamnan has been changed into St. Eunan; but is a very remarkable circumstance that the festival of the saint, called Eunan, is kept on the 23rd of September. Now this was the very day, on which Adamnan died, and on which his memory was revered not only at Raphoe, but in many other churches. The name Eunan, is, I allow, not favorable to the conjecture of his identity with Adamnan, but there might have been some reason for this variation of names, and a person better versed in the Irish language than I am might perhaps find some analogy between them."

A person familiar with the sound of that language (especially as spoken in the northern part of the island, to which Adamnan belonged,) would certainly have little trouble in looking for 'some analogy,' where perfect identity at a glance exhibits itself.

* As Lanigan himself also observes, Vol. ii. p., 333.

This illustrates well the great value of a knowledge of our native tongue, especially as spoken, to the student of the ancient history of this island, seeing that by means of it, what were otherwise an impediment, becomes a help, to our obtaining a correct view, in some cases, of historical particulars which had been involved in obscurity.

Sir James Ware's views relative to the subject of Coarbs and Erenachs are communicated to us in the xxxvth hapter of his *Antiquities of Ireland*, entitled "Of the *Corbes* or *Corbanes*, *Erenachs* or *Herenachs*" &c. of Ireland, and partly also in different passages of his History of the Bishops, to some of which we shall have occasion to refer shortly. The Account given in the *Antiquities*, of the Coarbs and Erenachs, accords wholly with Ussher's description of them; from which, indeed, it is, as the author acknowledges, for the most part taken. The following is for instance what he says of the 'Corbes.'

"*Corba* or *Comorba*, *Corbanus* or *Comorbanus* (for it is variously read) signifies, as some hold, *Chorepiscopus*, a Suffragan, or Rural Bishop, from which Word, as they think, by a barbarous Contraction it took its name. Other Writers are of Opinion, that *Comfurbach* among the *Irish* signifies *Compradianum*, a Fellow Farmer or Jointenant, one who possesses the same Farm or Patrimony jointly with another. Yet, as Colgan (*Trias Thaum.* p. 203,) rightly observes, it is in many Places taken among our antient Writers for a *Successor* in a Bishoprick, or other Ecclesiastical Dignity; and in this Sense frequent mention is made, in the *Annals* and *Histories of Ireland*, of the *Comorbans* of *Patrick*, *Albe*, *Jarlath*, *Columb*, *Fechin*, and others. But here our subject leads us to speak only of the *Comorbans*, who were *Lay Men*, and for the most Part had *Wives*; though some of them in antient Times were in an improper sense called *Abbots*, and some *Priors*.

"To these *Comorbans* and their Families were allotted certain Free-lands, commonly called *Termon-Lands*, of which more hereafter under the Word *Erenach*. I am of opinion that the *Welsh* in antient Times were no Strangers to this Order, though called by another Name. For *Cambrensis* (Itiner. Cambrie Lib. 2. Cap. 4.) seems to point out the Word *Comorban* under the Name of a *Lay-Abbot*."

Then follows that passage concerning the Lay-Abbots of Ireland and Wales, which has been already given at the head of page 23, *sup.*: and after it, some additional matter, by Harris, on the nature of the 'Comorbanship:' as, that it was "Collative by the Bishop in whose See it lay, or by the Metropolitan in case of Vacancy," and that the manner of Investiture was by the delivery of a Ring: that it was considered in the Light of a Rectory, and that *Rector* and *Comorban* were sometimes used as synonymous Terms: finally, that "though the Comorbanship was Collative, yet the Collation was always made to one of the same Sept": in illustration of all which particulars, the Instrument of Collation to the Rectory, or Coarbship, of Drumachose, already given at page 37 of this Memoir, is here cited by Harris. (p. 233.)

After this brief account of the *Coarbs*, we are supplied at much greater length (i.e. in Ware's *Antiquities*) with a description of the *Erenachs*' position and privileges. It contains, however, little that is new or of any additional interest beyond what has already come under our notice, from Ussher's Treatise, if we except a few novelties in the way of those fanciful derivations, proposed for Irish words by men unacquainted with the Irish tongue, of which we had had some specimens already. So, after having made the rational enough statement, "that *Termon* was, as it were, *Terminus*, or Lands bounded and distinguished from the Lands of the Laity," and the less reasonable suggestion that *Erenach* was a name derived from that of the *Archdeacon*, Ware subjoins, that "others derive *Herenach* from the Word *Hareo*, because he *adhered*, as it were, to the Bosom of the Church, and that *Termon* signifies *Terram monachorum*, [in Irish *Tir-Manach*, the *Land of the Monks*"]!!! This not being sufficiently absurd for Harris, he must add what follows, or at least the portion of it within the brackets:

"But these seem to be forced derivations,] and I rather approve of the other Conjectures beforementioned. [Yet I shall offer one more upon this Head to the Readers choice, which possibly may carry some Weight. We have seen before, from *Cambrensis*, that the *Lay-Abbot* was appointed by the Clergyman [to be (R.K.)] *Æconomist*, or *Patron* or *Defender* of the Church. *Tearmann*, in Irish signifies *Protection*, and *Tearmannoir*, a *Patron*; from whence *Termon lands*, may, in *Cambrensis*'s Sense, signify Lands granted to the *Lay abbot* or *Herenach* for his *Protection*]." [i.e. as a recompense for his protecting of the Church. R.K.]

Now, although Harris may have found in an Irish Dictionary, (O'Brien's for instance,) the meanings, "*protection*," and "*patron*," given, among others, for the Irish words *Tearmann* and *Tearmannoir*, yet unfortunately for the possibility of his conjecture on the subject "carrying some weight," neither of those meanings is a proper or original one of the corresponding Irish word; *Tearmann* signifying simply, from its original, a territory enclosed within certain definite limits, and in its common application in antient times, a territory so enclosed for the church's use; and *Tearmannoir* similarly implying a resident on, or occupant of any portion of, such a territory. If *Tearmann* can ever be properly translated '*protection*,' it is only as a *secondary* sense, originating in the circumstance that the *Termons* were endowed, by ancient privilege, with the right of "Sanctuary," or *Protection*; (somewhat as the Israelitish cities of refuge were;) *Termon* would thus signify "*protection*" in some cases, because according to its more proper meaning it was the name of a territory which gave protection to the hunted refugee: while Harris absurdly inverts this order of etymological investigation, and makes "*protection*" the primary, and "*land having the privilege of protection*" the secondary, meaning of the word.*

As to the statement of Harris and his cotemporary O'Brien, (from whom, I dare say, he may have borrowed it,) that *Tearmannoir* signifies a *Patron*, it seems to be totally without foundation: O'Brien, though a very good Irish scholar, being a very indifferent authority in matters of this kind of research. Take, for example, what he has in his Dictionary on the word *Comharba*; where, after having first given its proper derivation and meaning correctly enough, (as "a partner in church-lands or benefices; also a successor to a see or other ecclesiastical dignities;" with references to Colgan and Ware in support of such explanation,) he inserts the same word a second time, with an interpretation altogether erroneous and unfounded, thus: "*Comharba*, a religious order of monks among the old Irish.—*Vid. Keat*." What passage of Keating's History O'Brien had in view in this reference, I know not. But at all events Keating was no better authority than himself on the point, seeing that, with all his Irish and historical knowledge, he could make such a blunder on the subject, as he does in his account of the Synod of *Fiadh-mhic-Aengusa*, (dated by him, *cir.* A.D. 1106,) where, as one of the principal dignitaries present, he mentions "Kellach mac Aodha [i.e. Kellach, or Celsus, son of Aodh, or Hugh, R.K.] Coarb of Patrick, i.e. *Vicar General of the Primate*," not knowing that the Kellach, son of Aodh, of whom he speaks, was no other than "the Primate" himself of that day.

After those attempts to elucidate the etymology of the words *Erenach*, &c., which we have now noticed, we are supplied (in Ware's *Antiquities*,) with an account of the office and condition of the persons who were so designated. This account we shall give here at full length, because, although involving some repetition, after the extracts already given from Ussher's Treatise '*Of Corbes &c.*' yet it will not be without use to let the reader see all that is said on the subject in the most learned and able work extant on the general *Antiquities of Ireland*. It reads as follows;

"Upon the Death of an *Erenach*, the rest of the same Sept, who possessed those Lands, elected thereout such a Person to the Office, whom for his Age and good Qualities they judged equal to it. He was, generally speaking, a married Man, but yet one who had the *first tonsure*, and being presented to the Bishop was by him admitted and confirmed, and upon his Entrance into the Office he paid a *Relief* or *Subsidy* to the Bishop; but if for sufficient Reasons he was rejected, the Sept elected another in his Room. If the Sept could not agree upon an Election, then it devolved on the Bishop or Clergy to elect an *Erenach*; but they were confined in their choice to one of the same Sept. If that family became extinct, then the Bishop and Clergy elected another Sept to undertake the office, under the antient and unaccustomed conditions, [which were these. 1st. Obedience to the Bishop and his Successors, and their Officials and Ministers. 2ndly. They were to till the *Termon-lands*. 3dly. They were actually to reside on them. 4thly. They were not to transfer the Property of them, either in the whole or in Part, to be occupied or tilled by any foreign *Lay-man*. and 5thly, a *Rent* or *Tenure* was reserved. And upon Breach of any of these Conditions, the Bishop reserved a power to him

* "*Terminus* in the ecclesiastical style means originally district or territory: the idea of sanctuary was secondary." Lanigan (v. 86.

and his Successors to re-enter and dispose of the said Lands, notwithstanding the Investiture of the Herenach in them. These Particulars appear in the ancient Registry of the Sees of *Armagh* and *Clogher*, of which, for the Confirmation of what I have advanced, I will give the Reader a Taste. In the Registry of *Nicholas Fleming*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, is the Grant of an *Herenachy* made by his Predecessor, *Milo Sweetman*, to this Purpose. *Milo &c.*"

The document which then follows is the same with the first of the three already given at page 37, above,—bearing date Nov. 21, 1365 : after citation of which, we have, in the same authority, the continuation of the subject in the ensuing terms :

"Another Instance is in the same Registry, but of Lands in the Diocese of Dromore, granted, during the Vacancy of that See, by *John Swain*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, in 1427, with which I shall not incur the Reader (see p. 58 sup.) as it contains nothing more enforcing than that before recited. But a third is in the Registry of Archbishop *Mey*, containing the Confirmation of an *Herenachy* granted by that Prelate in 1455, to one whose Ancestors had formerly enjoyed the same. (*viz.*)" [Then follows the Confirmation already set forth in English at the head of p. 38 of this Memoir.] "The [*Qu. These?*] Instances are sufficient to prove the Conditions to which the *Herenach* was tied by his Tenure, and further that the Consent of the Dean and Chapter was necessary to the Grant." [at least according to the Anglo-Roman view of the matter. R.K.]

"Besides the Conditions beforementioned, the *Herenach* was also obliged to maintain Hospitality, to collect the Bishop's Rents and Duties in ancient Times, and to support and keep up a Part of the Fabrick of the Church ; but then he had a certain Portion of Free land remaining in his own Hands (called *Honorem Villæ*) which was not chargeable with any Rent, and he was subject also to Cosheries, Refections, and other incidental Charges due to the Bishop. These Particulars are in many Places evident in the *Grand Inquisition* of the six escheated Counties taken in the year 1609, now remaining in the Rolls Office ; and in a Letter written by Sir *John Davis*, Attorney General of *Ireland*, to the Earl of Salisbury in 1606, among the Bp. *Clogher's* Manuscripts in the College Library, but more fully from a Treatise written in 1609 professedly on the Subject by Dr. *Ussher*, afterwards Archbishop of *Armagh*, and remaining in his own Hand-Writing in the said Library, to all which I shall refer the Reader for further Information ; the material Substance of the Said Pieces being before set forth. I shall only add here the Difference between the *Comorban* usually called *Corbe*, and the *Herenach*. The *Corbe* is supposed by *Ussher* to be the same with *Chorepiscopus* or *Archipresbiter*, was of a higher Dignity than the *Herenach*, canonically ordained Priest and stated [stationed?] in the Mother-Church. He had also the first Stall in his own Church, and an empty Stall in the Cathedral. The *Comorban* is called in the Scholar's Certificate given by Sir *John Davis*, *Plebanus, quia plebi ecclesiasticæ præest*, having the Superintendence over the rest of the Body ; and so he is called in the said grand Inquisition under the County of *Caran*, where it is said also, that the *Plebanus* or *Corbe* is the Head of a larger Sept than the *Herenach*, and sometimes of several Septs, and hath sometime several *Herenachs* subject to him ; but that the *Herenach* was head of a smaller Sept, which only was subject to him. The *Herenach* was admitted only to the first Tonsure, and never to the Priesthood. Both *Corbe* and *Herenach* were antiently married Men, till Celibacy was enjoined the Clergy, and we find their Sons succeeding to their Offices, and the *Lay Abbot* in *Wales* was under the same Circumstances. They were subject likewise to the Bishop's Visitations, to whom they gave a Subsidy at their Entrance, and were chargeable with Proxies and Refections, and like others of the clergy, were liable to Sequestration for Cause ; of which there is a President in the Archbishop of *Dublin's* Registry, as to the *Corbe*, in the Government of Archbishop *Walton* in 1472. [see p. 57 sup.] Thus much of the *Corbes* and *Herenachs*." (Harris's *Ware* Vol. ii. Pt. i. pp. 232-236.)

The confused and erroneous notions entertained by Ware and Harris on the subject of the *Coarbs*, our ancient Episcopacy, &c., display their effects in various passages of the *History of the Bishops* : as in those, for instance, that are here subjoined :—

"The *Uster Annals* call this Prelate, [*i.e.* Feardachrioch, abbot of *Armagh*, A.D. 758-768, R.K.] Abbat of *Armagh* ; but in the *Psalter of Cashell*, he is with more Justice enumerated among the Archbishops of that See. It is worth observing ; that the Names, Abbat and Archbishop, are often confounded in the said Annals." [For 'often,' here, read 'never,' and the assertion will be correct. R.K.] *Bishops*, p. 41.

"The *Annals of Ulster* place his [Cudinaig's, R.K.] Death under the year 790 or 791 ; and call him Abbat of *Armagh* ; by which Name, however, Bishop, or Primate, ought to be understood." *ib.* p. 42.

"It is to be observed, that in this Catalogue [*i.e.* of the early Prelates of Meath, R.K.] they who are not expressly called Bishops, or Comorbans, or Elders, were called only [*Qu. 'were only?'*] Abbats of *Clonard*. And indeed it is well known, that the Names of Abbat and Bishop were often confounded by our Historians ; as was observed before in the Catalogue of the Archbishops of *Armagh*. [Another thing to be observed is, that as there was a *Finian* of *Maghble*, as well as a *Finian* of *Clonard*, so the Term, Comorban of *Finian*, is not an infallible Mark to judge, that the Person so called was Bishop of *Clonard*." Harris.] *ib.* p. 140.

"*Sedulius*, in *Irish Siedhuil*, the son of Luaith, is called Bishop of *Dublin* in the Martyrologies of *Marian Gorman*, and these of Taulaught, and *Donnegal*. Yet in the *Annals of the Four Masters* he is called only Abbat of *Dublin*. But the Difference is not great ; since in antient writers Bishop and Abbat are often used as Synonymous Terms." *ib.* p. 305.

"I must again warn the Reader, that antient writers have often confounded the names of Abbats and Bishops, and that they are frequently taken for Synonymous Terms." Harris, *ib.* p. 437.

A correct understanding of the subject will, however, lead one to transfer the seat of all this confusion from the pages of ancient writers to the brains of those of more recent times : as there does not appear to be the least ground for supposing that those ancient writers employed their words with so little care or exactness ; but much reason for believing the contrary. The effects of similar confusion are apparent also in many parts of Dr. Lanigan's learned Ecclesiastical History of Ireland ; as we shall proceed shortly to shew by a few examples. These it will be convenient, however, to preface by setting before the reader an account of the general description of the *Coarbs* and *Erenachs* given by this author, (*Ec. Hist.* iv. 79-86,) who appears to be the most recent writer* of any eminence that has particularly directed his attention to the study of the Subject. Writing of the times of Gille, Bishop of Limerick in the 12th Century, Dr. L. proceeds to make the following observations relative to the *Coarbs*, &c.

"The abuse of church lands, particularly those belonging to monasteries, being possessed by laymen, had long since crept into the church. In England we find it in the eighth century, and at the same period it was usual in France, where the possessors of abbatial lands were called *Abbacomites*. (See Ducange at *Abbacomites*, and at *In commandum mittere*.) The earliest instance I meet with of it in Ireland is that of the occupation of the revenues of the See of *Armagh* by the lay so called archbishops. But about the times we are now treating of it became rather prevalent ; and Giralduus Cambrensis informs us, (*Itiner. Camb. L.* [2.] c. 4.) that there were several lay abbots in Ireland and Wales. The passage is curious and worth transcribing : 'Notandum autem' &c. [This passage, relative the Church of St. Paternus, may be seen in English at the head of p. 23 sup., after citing which, Dr. Lanigan continues :] He [*i.e.* Giralduus,] says, that those lay abbots, retaining the lands and other properties to themselves, left to the clergy only the altars and the tithes and dues. As to tithes, he alluded to Wales ; for they were not paid in Ireland before his time. In the course of ages this system became very general in Ireland, particularly in Ulster ; and hence the origin of that singular class of persons called *Corbes* and *Erenachs*, concerning whom much has been written but in great part incorrect. *Ussher* has left a dissertation on this subject, (see *Collectan. de Reb. Hibern.* vol. 1.) which he wrote when young, and in which he pretends, that the *Corbes* were originally the same as the *Chorepiscopi*, of which *Corbe* was a corruption. This was a fundamental mistake, and has been guarded against by Ware, (*Antiq. cap.* 17.) who justly observes from Colgan, that *Corba* or *Comorba* signifies a successor in an ecclesiastical dignity. *Ussher* himself tells us that 'some of the Irish have deformed the name in Latin to *Converbius*, or *Confurbach* in Irish, which importeth as much as *conterrenus*.' This was no detraction, but founded on the true meaning of the name. The original word is *Comhorba*, (pronounced *Covorba*) [or rather, *Covorba*, R.K.] derived from *Comh* (*con* in Latin) and *forba*, *i.e.* a district, landed estate, or patrimony ; and which by a certain usage was applied to the successors of distinguished persons in ecclesiastical situations, as if signifying joint-partners. Colgan writes ; (*Tr. Th.* p. 8.) *Vox Hibernica Comhorba &c.* [in English thus : 'The Irish word *Comhorba*, if you keep in view its origin, denotes the same as joint-farmer, or possessor of the same farm, patrimony, or land : it being derived from *comh*, which denotes the same as *con* does in Latin, and *forba*, *i.e.* a farm, land, or patrimony. It is used, however, continually, by our old writers, for a successor in a prelacy or ecclesiastical dignity. Whence it is that we see the name *Comhorbanus* at present applied to those (though they be for the most part secular persons,) who hold the office of prefect on lands and farms that formed once a portion of the property of rich abbacies : whether that arose from the heads of the families out which those comorbans are chosen, having voluntarily consecrated themselves and their farms to the protection and jurisdiction of those abbacies or monasteries, as

* The Title page of this History bears the date 1829.

† This appears not true. The system was probably much the same throughout Ireland generally, but continued to manifest itself to a later period in Ulster, in consequence of the lateness of the actual conquest of that province, which was never wholly subdued until the commencement of the 17th century.

some think; or from certain secular persons having, at a time when the church's welfare was undergoing a course of gradual decay, first usurped, and afterwards transmitted to their posterity, the title of the abbot or prelate in such monasteries." (See also *ib.* p. 298 and 330.*) Colgan has these words in a note to a passage, in which the successors of St. Fiech of Sletty are called his *comhorbans*; and we have seen over and over the archbishops of Armagh [it should be, 'the Abbots of Armagh,' R.K.] styled comorbans of St. Patrick, the comorbans of Columbkil, of Finnian of Clonard, Barr of Cork, &c. &c. This title is often translated *heres*, which signifies not only an heir, but an owner or possessor, apparently the primitive meaning of *heres*, like that of the German word *herr*. [Not much to the purpose. R.K.] Thus Ussher has (*Prim.* p. 860) from the Annals of Ulster; '*Duo heredes S. Patricii, nempe Forannanus—et Dermittus—quieverunt.*' [i.e. 'Two heirs of Patrick, namely Forannan—and Dermitt—entered into rest.'] The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 295) call them *comorbans* of St. Patrick.† It is usually joined with the name of the founder of a church; thus we read of the comorbans of St. Patrick, of Columbkil, of Adamnan not as abbot of Hy but as founder of Raphoe, of St. Jarlath of Tuam, of Congall, &c. Yet sometimes it occurs united with the name of a church, as the *comorban of Inniscathay*, the *comorban of the church of St. Brigid of Armagh*, a title given (*Tr. Th.* p. 299.) to Gormgal Laighsech, who died in 1085. And hence we see, that this name was used not only for bishops and abbots, but likewise became gradually extended to persons holding minor ecclesiastical dignities.

"In the abovequoted passage Colgan observes, that in his time the comorbans were mostly laymen. *After the Synod of Kells, which defined the episcopal sees, we find but few instances of our bishops being called comorbans*; and this title fell into disuse also as to regular abbots. [See p. 30. l. 19. of this Memoir.] The laymen who usurped old ecclesiastical livings, that had belonged to decayed or neglected monasteries and churches, appropriated it to themselves; and we find in later times a great number of *comorbans*, or, as corruptly called, *Corbas*, or *Corbes*, of this kind, chiefly in Ulster, as may be seen from the grand Inquisition, held in the year 1609, for the county of Tyrone and the other escheated counties, now in the Rolls Office, Dublin, and abstracts from which are to be found among Harris's MSS. in the Library of the Dublin Society. But an inquiry into this subject would lead me beyond the times, which I intend to treat of; and let it suffice to observe, that several of these corbes possessed even lands belonging to episcopal sees, paying, however, certain mensal dues to the bishops, who did not hold the lands in demesne. (See Sir John Davies' *Letter to the Earl of Salisbury in Collectan.* Vol. 1.) This system had partly begun before the times of St. Malachy.

"Yet there were in Colgan's times some comorbans or corbes in holy orders, and they are described by Sir John Davies, (*ib.*) on the authority of an Irish scholar, as provosts of collegiate churches under the name of *plebani*, a title corresponding to that of *pievano* in the North of Italy. The certificate of the Irish scholar, or his description of the *corbanatus*, which is given by Davies, has been republished by Spelman, (*Glossar. ad Corba*) who got his information from Ussher, and by the Benedictine editors of Ducange, (*at Corba*) who, by the by, were mistaken in quoting it as if from Isidorus Moscovius; *De Majest. Mil. Eccl.*: [that reference belonging to a different quotation in Ussher's Treatise. See p. 57 sup. R.K.] This sort of Corbes were probably the heads of churches, which had been formerly small bishoprics, and who, as they could not be called bishops, were distinguished by that name. But there were other corbes not in holy orders and usually married, although Davies seems to say that all the corbes had some order, meaning, I suppose, the tonsure. Colgan, however, positively states, that the greatest part of them were mere laymen. This much is certain, that the corbes or comorbans were not in general, as Ussher, Spelman, and others would fain insinuate, the substitutes for chorepiscopi, but persons occupying the church lands, which had formerly belonged to dignitaries of various ranks. Harris in his usual mode of adding some mistake to Ware's works, says (*Antiq.* p. 235) that the Corbes were anciently married men till celibacy was enjoined the clergy. [This, however, he took from Ussher. See p. 57 sup. R.K.] What confusion! We do not find any married corbes or comorbans until very long indeed after the law of celibacy was established; and the married corbes, who appeared in late times, were either not clergymen in any sense of the word, or at most had received only some minor order, *ex. c.* the tonsure.

"Besides the corbes there was a much more numerous description of persons somewhat like them, but considered as of an inferior rank, *viz.* the Erenachs. This name originally meant archdeacons, as has been justly remarked by Ussher, (on *Corbes*, &c.) Spelman, (*ad Corba*) Ware, (*Antiq.* cap. 17.) &c. In Irish it is written *Airchinneach*, *Airchindeach*, or [improperly, and apparently by parties trying to coax it into identity with *archidiaconus*, R.K.] *Airchidneach*. Colgan's conjecture (*Tr. Th.* p. 631.) of its being perhaps derived from the Greek *ethnarches*, as if signifying the head of a people, is quite futile: and he himself was sometimes obliged to translate it *archidiaconus*. According to the ancient discipline the archdeacons were the managers and economes of the property of the church. By degrees this duty fell into the hands of laymen, who consequently assumed the title of *archdeacons*. This happened also in France. In the Capitularies it is more than once enjoined *ut archidiaconi non sint laici*. [that archdeacons must not be laymen] &c. &c.

"In course of time the Erenachs became exceedingly numerous in Ireland. They were universally laymen, except that they were tonsured, on which account they were ranked among the *Clerici* or Clerks. In an inquisition taken for the county of Tyrone in 1608 we read; *In qualibet dictarum baroniarum* &c. [See the English of the passage here given already set forth at p. 57 above, commencing thus; 'And further the said jurors do upon their oaths say, that in each of the said baronies,' &c., and ending at 'country.'] Ussher observes, (*ib.*) that in the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe the bishop got a third part, the other two thirds being reserved for the repairs of churches, hospitality, and Erenach's maintenance. In fact, the erenachs were the actual possessors of old church lands, out of which they paid certain contributions either in money or kind towards ecclesiastical purposes.

"Davies says (*ib.*); 'The church land (in Monaghan) was either monastery land, corbe-land, or erenach's land; for it did not appear unto us, that the bishop had any land in demesne, but certain mensal duties of the corbes and erenachs; neither did we find, that the parsons and vicars had any glebe land at all in this country.' 'There are,' he states, 'few parishes of any compass in extent, where there is not an erenach; which he derives from a right of *juspatronatus* or advowson. This might have been sometimes the case, but was not generally so. Besides keeping the church in order, exercising hospitality, and giving alms,' he was also to make a weekly commemoration of the founder in the church; he had always *primam tonsuram*, but took no other orders. He had a voice in the Chapter, when they consulted about their revenues, and paid a certain yearly rent to the bishop, besides a fine upon the marriage of every of his daughters, which they call a *Loughinny*; he gave a subsidy to the bishop at his first entrance into his bishopric: the certainty of all which duties appear in the bishop's register; and these duties grew unto the bishop first, because the erenach could not be created nor the church dedicated without the consent of the bishop.'

"Here Davies goes still on the principle that the erenachs held the lands in virtue of a *juspatronatus* founded on grants made to churches by their ancestors; but the fact is, that those erenachies consisted chiefly in usurpations made by laymen, or merely tonsured clerks, calling themselves *archdeacons*, who, as well as the so called comorbans or corbes, transmitted the church lands to their posterity, or at least to the sept, to which they belonged, according to the Irish laws of succession and inheritance. On the death of an Erenach, the sept used to elect another from among themselves, and in case they did not agree, the bishop and clergy were authorised to interfere and chuse one out of said sept; for they could not take the erenachy into their own hands. And if a whole sept became extinct, it was necessary to look out for another to which it could be transferred, and which would be vested with the right of electing the erenach, under the same conditions and charges, without alteration, as those observed by the former erenachs. Similar regulations existed with regard to the corbes, and much may be seen concerning them and some other collateral points in the Inquisitions in Harris's MSS. abovementioned, in which, by the bye, there are some foolish and groundless speculations relative to the origin of corbeships and erenachies.

"Harris himself is not sufficiently correct in what he has on these subjects in his additions to Ware (*Antiq.* p. 233. *seqq.*); but I shall not enlarge further on them, having said as much as may suffice to illustrate the allusions to them in such part of our ecclesiastical history as I have undertaken to treat of; merely adding, that the corbes differed from the erenachs in their possessing more extensive lands, and sometimes having erenachs under them, whereas the erenach's power and influence were of an inferior kind. Besides, *many corbes held lands, that had belonged to old abbeyes, independently, it seems, of the bishops*; and such was St. Malachy's uncle, who was in possession of the property of the monastery of Bangor, and who was called *comorb* (tantamount to *abbot*) of Bangor. On the contrary, the erenachs were perpetual tenants of the bishops, under whom they held their lands. Add that some corbes were in holy orders and heads of collegiate churches; whereas the erenachs had no higher order than the tonsure." (p. 85.) [Then follows some observations, from Ussher, on the origin of the name *Termon-lands*, &c., which contain nothing of new light beyond what has already been thrown on the subject, and on which accordingly we need not enlarge further.]

It seems strange how Dr. Lanigan could have supposed it to have been always the case that "the erenachs had no higher order than the tonsure." That it must have been otherwise, at least in many instances, would appear sufficiently plain, if only from that statement, which he, quotes of Sir John Davis's, (not to refer to the more convincing evidence already adduced in these pages,) that the Erenach "was also to make a weekly commemoration of the founder in the church," in other words, to introduce his name among those of the saints particularly mentioned in the prayer for the departed, in the service of the Mass. At whatever time, and in whatever places, this practice was introduced, it would indicate, that the erenach must have been a priest, in order to his being entrusted with such a duty. For surely the charge of paying this honor to the patron Saint who had founded any particular church, would not have been entrusted in after times to any official inferior, in order to the parochial priest officiating in that church, when made a parish church. Yet it would seem, further, from the statement of Sir J. Davis in

* Or pp. 27, 28 of this Memoir, where the same passages are cited. Of the long extract from Colgan above, ('*The Irish*, &c. . . . to '*monasteries*,') the Latin original is given by Dr. L. † See p. 18. sup.

† This is the name which, in Ussher's Treatise on Corbes, is made *Moponius*, at least by the printer, in the passage above referred to.

question, that in his time some form of commemoration of the church-founder saint was observed by men, who, though *erenachs*, were not *priests*. They may perhaps have used as a substitute for the higher sort of Office just mentioned, certain prayers for the repose of the one who was the special object of their veneration.

For the sake of the several original observations interspersed by Lanigan throughout his account of the *coarbs* and *erenachs*, above given, we have thought it useful to cite the entire, so far, in his own words, though at the expense of introducing some repetitions. These, however, are the less disadvantageous, where the whole subject has been so far misunderstood as it has been. And now, having thus put the reader in possession of his general idea of these matters, we shall next, in further illustration of the subject, adduce, from various parts of his History, passages exhibiting its importance in order to a correct understanding of many of the particulars of which he treats, as well as the confusion created about many such particulars apparently by no other cause, than a want of true information relative to those peculiarities of ancient Irish Christianity, to the better understanding of which an attempt is made to contribute, in these pages, some little assistance.

Concerning the famous St. Finnian of Clonard, Dr. Lannigan has (vol. ii. pp. 21, 24,) the observations which follow :—

"Several writers speak of him as not only abbot but bishop of Clonard; yet it is rather odd that, neither in his Acts nor in the Irish Calendars, is he called a bishop. We find him thus designated in one or two lives of other saints; and Senachus, his successor in the government of the house of Clonard, was certainly one. (a) That Clonard was an ancient episcopal see, cannot be called in question; (b) but I confess I entertain a doubt whether Finnian or Senachus was its first bishop."—p. 21.

Note (a) "Hence, as likewise from some successors of Senachus at Clonard, having been bishops, Colgan argues (*AA. SS.* p. 402,) that Finnian had been one also. This however is not a necessary consequent; and it deserves to be remarked that in the list of the superiors of that establishment given by the 4 Masters (*ib.* p. 406.) Finnian, who appears first, is simply styled *abbot*, whereas Senachus, who is placed next after him, is marked as bishop, and then some abbots, after whom again some named bishops."

Note (b) "As Clonard was an episcopal see since, at least, the times of Senachus, who died in the year 588, and as the prelates of that place were, at a later period, sometimes called the Comarbans or successors of Finnian, it became natural to suppose, that he had been bishop there. Thus we may account for his being called by that title in some tracts written long after his death. And hence perhaps the mention of his episcopal dignity in the prayer for his Office, although there is not the least allusion to it in the lessons. The prayer, as it now appears, is certainly a later composition than the other part of that Office." (pp. 23, 24.)

Like doubts exist as to whether the no less famous cotemporary Saint, Brendan of Clonfert, (who died A.D. 577,) were a bishop, or no: of whom Dr. Lanigan writes thus: (*ib.* pp. 30, 37,)—

"According to some writers Brendan was a bishop, and the first at Clonfert; but it is more probable that he was not; nor do any of our old writers give him that title, while they usually call him only *abbot*." (c) p. 30.

Note (c). "The only passage of our ancient documents, in which I find any thing seeming to indicate that Brendan was a bishop, is one of the Calendar of Cashel (*ap. AA. SS.* p. 439), where Moena is called bishop of Clonfert, and *Comorban* of St. Brendan. Now, as *Comorban* means *successor*, it would seem as if Brendan had been bishop there before Moena. Colgan, who was of this opinion, endeavoured to explain the matter by saying that Brendan resigned the See to Moena, reserving to himself the care of his monasteries. But it is very odd that, while our Annalists and hagiologists make mention of Moena as a bishop, they do not give that title to the far more celebrated Brendan. I suspect there is some mistake in that passage, and that the author's meaning was, that Moena was a co-operator with Brendan in the ecclesiastical government of the establishment of Clonfert, and that he had been consecrated bishop for that purpose through his recommendation. Such a great institution, and in which a vast number of young men was educated for the service of the Church, required the assistance and presence of a bishop, in the same manner as there used to be a bishop in Columbkille's monastery of Hy. Or, taking the passage as it now stands, it may be understood of Moena's having succeeded Brendan not as bishop but as abbot; in which case we must suppose that Brendan retired, some years before his death, from the administration of Clonfert, leaving it to Moena, who thus, besides the care of the See, became charged with that of the monastery. And it must be recollected that the name *Comorban* used to be given to the successors not only of bishops but likewise of abbots. I find, indeed, Brendan expressly called a bishop in a Life of St. Fursa (16 Jan.); but as it was patched up at a very late period, as Colgan admits, probably about the 12th century, its authority is of little weight. As Clonfert was an episcopal see and had been one since St. Brendan's time, it might have thence, through mistake, been concluded that he had been bishop there. In the Life of St. Ita (15th Jan.) which is really ancient, and in which his name occurs several times, he is called by no higher title than *Brendan abbot in Connaught*." p. 37.

So also with regard to the famous St. Kevin, of Glendaloch, we read :—

"Although this saint was most probably not a bishop, yet Glendaloch became not long, it seems, after his death, an episcopal see, in consequence of a city having soon grown up near the monastery." (d) p. 45, *ib.*

Note (d). . . . As to St. Coemgen, [or Kevin] there is nothing in his Life to induce us to think that he also belonged to the episcopal order; but as the See was ancient, and he the founder of the monastery that gave rise to it, some writers thought that he had been bishop there." (p. 50.)

Of the celebrated St. Senan, who founded, *cir.* A.D. 540, the monastic establishment of Inniscatthy, or as some call it, Inniscattery, in the mouth of the Shannon, we read in the same volume, (p. 3.) that "Senan was a bishop when he founded this establishment, and probably some time earlier." Yet, of the same individual we are told, (p. 91, *ib.*) that he "was succeeded in the government of Inniscatthy by Odran, who does not appear to have been raised to the episcopal dignity." On this circumstance our author adds, in a subsequent page, the note which follows :—

"In the second life of Senan (*cap.* 42), we find Odran joined in the same sentence with Ero and Mola, who are expressly called bishops, while no such title is given to him. Colgan indeed (*AA. SS.* p. 542) gives it to him, for no other reason, as far as I can discover, except his supposing that, as Senan had been a bishop, Odran should have been one also. Harris has, as usual, copied Colgan. (*Bishops.* p. 502.) But there is nothing more common in our Church history of those times than to find some abbots raised to the episcopal rank, although their success were not. In the very passage (*scilicet* Life, *cap.* 43) where the appointment of Odran is particularly mentioned, he is called simply *abbot* to preside over the monks." (p. 95.)

Contemporary with Senan was the distinguished Saint "Nessan, abbot, and most probably founder of the monastery of Mungret, near Limerick," according to Dr. Lanigan (*ib.* 103.); although, according to the (probably more accurate) statement of Dr. O'Donovan, in his Notes to the *Four Masters*, that establishment owed its origin rather to St. Patrick himself, who placed Nessan, or Neasan, over it. At all events, of this Nessan, surnamed the Leper, whose death is noticed by the Annalists just mentioned at A.D. 551, Dr. Lanigan observes, that, "He never rose higher in the church than to the rank of Deacon, by which title he was known, not only during his lifetime, but likewise ever since (e) Yet his reputation was so great that he has been considered as one of the fathers of the Irish church. (f) p. 103. To this statement are added the Notes which follow :—

(e) "Besides the Tripartite, *loc. cit.* [*i.e.* L. 3. c. 42.] we have the authority of the third Life of St. Patrick, *cap.* 61. in which he is spoken of; 'Nesan qui nunc dicitur Dechon Nesan.' [*i.e.* 'Nesan, who is now styled Nesan the Deacon.'] Aengus Kelideus (*ap. AA. SS.* p. 620.) reckons him among the holy deacons."

(f) "In Cumman's Paschal Epistle Nessan is joined with Ailbe, Kieran of Clonmacnois &c. That this was Nessan of Mungret, cannot be called in question, whereas Cumman alludes to saints who left great establishments after them, and particularly in places not far distant from the Shannon. Now there was no other Nessan in those parts of Ireland, to whom these circumstances could apply." p. 104.

The case of this Nessan, as the reader may remember, has been already slightly referred to at page 2 of this Essay. But it seems deserving, from its connection with all that precedes, of the more particular notice of it here given. It is certainly very remarkable, from the striking evidence it furnishes, that in the very earliest period (or at least nearly the very earliest,

Nessan having been born, according to Dr. L. *ib.*, a year or two, probably, before St. Patrick's death,—that at this very early period) of the Church History of Ireland, among those churchfounding saints whose *coarbs* were regarded as the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries of the country, there was nothing to hinder a deacon from ranking along with bishops and presbyters. The Successor of Nessan the Deacon, of Mungret, is referred to as a collateral authority, (on a point regarded as of the deepest importance to the faith,) with the Successor of Ailbhe the bishop, of Emly, and the Successors of those famous presbyters, Kiaran of Clonmacnois, Brendan of Clonfert, and Lugidus of Clonfert-mulloe. Had Ussher and others paid a judicious attention to this circumstance, it would have sufficed to save the readers of their works from those idle speculations relative to the 'corbes' having been originally all *chorepiscopi*, with which they were led to occupy themselves: as it would also have sufficed to shew Sir J. Davis what a very indifferent notion of the original 'coarb' of the old Irish was that supplied him in the "Certificate" of his friend the "Irish Scholar."

St. Barr, founder of the church of Cork, lived in the early part of the seventh century. Referring to the exaggerated statements to be met with in the legendary account of his life, as to the grandeur of his establishment, the number of his disciples, &c., Dr. Lanigan observes;—

"Another part of this pompous narrative is his having erected the cathedral of Cork, as if it were different from the church belonging to the monastery. Barr became certainly a bishop, as many other abbots did; but the accounts of his successors as bishops are very imperfect until a long time after his death." (*g.*) p. 315 *ib.*

Note (*g*) " . . . A Russin son of Lappain is called Comorban of Barr, that is, successor, in the Life of St. Molagga at 20 Jan. Hence Colgan, (*ib.* p. 150.) and after him Harris, conclude, that he was bishop of Cork. But the title, *Comorban*, is not alone sufficient to prove it; for the successors of abbots as well as of bishops were distinguished by that epithet, and Russin might have been so called, as being a successor of Barr merely in the government of the monastery. The 4 Masters who are usually careful to mark the episcopal rank of persons wherever they met with it, call Russin only *abbot of Cork*, who according to them, died A.D. 685 (686.) Yet from other circumstances it appears quite certain that he was also a bishop. This however does not prove that every abbot of Barr's monastery was likewise raised to that rank." [Here Dr. L. notices the mention of 17 bishops whose remains lay at Cork with St. Barr, in the Litanies of Aengus the Culdee (cir. A.D. 800.) and adds;] "This mention of 17 bishops is very favorable to the opinion of there having been a regular succession of prelates there after St. Barr; but we have no certainty, that they were all bishops of Cork, properly speaking; for it was quite usual in Ireland to raise pious monks to the episcopacy without giving them fixed sees. Add that the *chorepiscopi*, of whom we had great numbers, were styled *bishops*, and that perhaps no small part of those seventeen belonged to that class." (*pp.* 317, 318.)

Concerning St. Cronan, of Roscrea, Lanigan has, in a note to the account which he gives of his life (vol. iii. p. 8), these observations that follow:—

"Ware, touching on the Life of Cronan, (*Writers L. 1. c. 13, al. 15*), calls him *bishop*, otherwise *abbot of Roscrea*. Yet Colgan states (*A.A. SS. p. 303.*) that we do not read of his having been a bishop. I suspect that Ware's motive for giving him that title was, that Roscrea was formerly an episcopal see, and his thence supposing that it was such as early as Cronan's time. . . . In his Life, which is a respectable and very circumstantial document, he is called only *abbot*, without the least allusion to his ever having exercised episcopal functions. On the whole it appears exceedingly probable that his being called *bishop* in after times was a mistake founded, as above observed, with regard to Ware, on the circumstance of Roscrea having become an episcopal see."

Similar doubts exist concerning the position which St. Munchin, founder of a religious establishment at Limerick, held in the church. Of his case Dr. Lanigan speaks thus—(*p.* 30 *ib.*):—

"Manchan *the wise* was, I believe, the same as the Manchan, or, as vulgarly called, *Munchin*, who is supposed to have been the first bishop of Limerick. For this supposition there is no sufficient authority; and, as far as I can discover, it rests on no other foundation than that Manchan *the wise* founded, perhaps, a monastery where Limerick now stands, or that the first church in that place was dedicated in his name. Of the identity of Manchin of Limerick with Manchan *the wise*, a stronger proof need not be required than that his festival is kept on the 2d of January, the day assigned to the memory of Manchan *the wise* in all the Irish calendars. There is not the least hint, in any old document relative to our Church history, of this Manchan having been raised to the episcopal rank; but the veneration in which he was held at Limerick, and the circumstance of its oldest church bearing his name, gave rise at a late period to the opinion of his having been a bishop. Mistakes of this kind have occurred not only in Ireland but likewise in other countries." [In the note at p. 32, more is added by this author illustrative of the confusion connected with the name and episcopate of St. Munchin in various works of historical writers.]

Concerning St. Gerald of Mayo, we have like doubts proposed; (*p.* 167, *ib.*)—

"In some Irish documents St. Gerald is called *bishop*: but it is very doubtful whether he was entitled to this appellation." (*h.*)

Note (*h.*) p. 169. "Some calendars, quoted by Colgan, give him the title of bishop; and we have just seen that he has been called *pontifex*. Yet in the Life, notwithstanding the great things said of him, he is styled merely *abbot*. The 4 Masters say no more of him than *St. Gerald of Mayo*. According to their statements he could scarcely have been a bishop; for they place his death in 727, the very year to which they assign that of St. Muredach, whom they expressly call *bishop of Mayo*. Surely there were not two bishops there at the same time. Bede, speaking of the monastery of Mayo, as it was circumstanced when he was writing his history, and accordingly down to 731, says (*L. 4. c. 4.*) that the English monks lived there under a canonical or regular abbot. He has nothing about their having among them a bishop, although in all probability, Gerald was their abbot at the time of his making this observation. I am inclined to think that his having been called *pontifex*, *pontiff* of the English, gave rise to the supposition of his having been a bishop. But why did not Tigernach [that famous Irish Annalist, R.K.] or the compilers of the Ulster annals plainly call him *episcopus*? The title, *pontifex*, has been often used in an equivocal manner, and sometimes in the same sense as *president*. (See Spelman, *Gloss.* and Ducange, at *Pontifex* and *Pontificium*.) It may be, that, as the English were strangers in Ireland, the abbot of Mayo [which was occupied by English monks, see p. 5. sup.] enjoyed some particular privileges as protector of his countrymen."

At page 233 of the same Volume, Dr. Lanigan, having given a brief notice of the succession of prelates in the see of Armagh from A.D. 768 to 805, has the following observations relative to that in the other Irish sees about the same period:—

"As to the succession in other Irish sees there is a deplorable vacuum in the history of this period, with scarcely any exception, saving that of Emly. Cuan, who was bishop there, and in all probability the immediate successor of Senchai, died in 784 or 786; and next after him we find in that see Sectabrat, who lived until 819. (*i.*) Instead of a succession of bishops in some of our distinguished sees we are furnished with that of abbots in said places, for instance, at Ferns and Kildare, although it is difficult to think that the line of bishops was interrupted."

Note (*i.*) p. 235. "For the series of abbots there and elsewhere see Archdall. It will not be expected that I should transcribe them. It sometimes happens, as often remarked, that the same persons are sometimes called *abbots* and sometimes *bishops*; but it is not to be thence presumed that every one who is called abbot, *ex. c.* of Ferns, were also bishops there. We have seen (*Not.* 180 to chap. xix.) an abbot of Kildare clearly distinguished from two *bishops* of said place, who died in the same year with him. Our annalists were usually attentive to give the title *bishop* to such abbots as were really both abbots and bishops."

Concerning the "very distinguished saint, Dunchad O'Braoin," who resigned the abbacy of Clonmacnoise, to live in retirement at Armagh, where he was held in the greatest veneration, and where he died in A.D. 987, Dr. Lanigan observes, that "he was not raised to the episcopacy, but governed the monastery [of Clonmacnoise] for some time merely as abbot," until the time of his removal to Armagh. In his case however, also, as well as in those which precede, the usual mistake has been made in Harris's Ware, as Dr. Lanigan indicates in the note following; (*ib.* p. 391.)—

"Harris (*Bishop at Clonmacnoise*) thought that Dunchad was also bishop there. For this opinion there is no foundation whatsoever, and some words, which he quotes from Colgan, prove nothing more than that Dunchad was placed over the monastery as abbot. Throughout his Actor wherever else he is spoken of, Dunchad is never called bishop, but merely abbot and anchorite. At Clonmacnoise as well as in some other

great monastic institutions, the abbots were not always bishops, nor *vice versa* were the bishops regularly abbots. Thus Moeldar and his successor St. Corpreus, bishop of Clonmacnois, do not appear to have been abbots there; and Archdall, misquoting Colgan, was wrong in giving them that title, while he omitted their real ones."

Again, at page 453 of the same volume, Dr. Lanigan introduces (*Notes 40, and 43*), the following remarks:—

"(40). Harris has added two bishops of Clonmacnois in these times, viz. Ectigern O'Ergain, who died in 1052, and Alild O'Harretagh, who died in 1070. He found them in *AA. SS.* p. 407, under the title of comorbans of St. Kieran of Clonmacnois, and as having both died in pilgrimage at Clonard. But he had no right to make them bishops; for *comorban of St. Kieran, &c.* means only *abbot of Clonmacnois*, whereas that St. Kieran had not been a bishop.

"(43). *Annals of Innisfallen* at A. 1075 and 1099; and Ware at *Ardfert*. In said *Annals* I find under A. 1010 these words; 'The primate of Ireland in Aghadoe died.' Have they a reference to some *Kerry bishop* of that period? I am equally at a loss to understand another passage at said year; 'Marcan, son of Kennedy, supreme head of the clergy of Munster, died.' I find no Marcan at Emly during that period, and I am much inclined to think, that Marcan was bishop of Cashel, which see had, partly as the civil metropolis of Munster, and partly in memory of Cormac Mac Culinan, probably acquired an ecclesiastical ascendancy. Marcan's being called son of Kennedy in the very part of those annals, where Brian (Boromhe) is so often named as son of Kennedy, seems to indicate, that he was a brother of his."

The points here suggested as having puzzled so completely this learned author, are easily settled by a reference to the Irish *Annals* in the light thrown on the entire subject in the preceding pages; as will readily be seen on a slight inspection of the matter. As to the first:—"the primate of Ireland in Aghadoe" was no one else than one of the brethren belonging to the monastic establishment on Innisfallen Island, in the Lake of Killarney, who was also lord of a territory in the barony of Magunihy in the same county. It was in the same island, and by the brethren of the same community, that the *Annals of Innisfallen*, in which he is dignified with so pompous a title, were compiled; which was, no doubt, at least in part, the cause of his being so honored: but there appears to be no reason whatever for supposing him to have been a bishop. Dr. Lanigan does not give the original *Irish* of the passage from the *Annals of Innisfallen*, nor have I it within reach to refer to: but it seems extremely probable, that whatever the word translated "*primate*" in that passage, or whether this be a proper translation for it, or no, the sense intended was, "a chief man," "a most eminent individual," of celebrity coextensive with his native isle. (See p. 16, *sup.*) He is called "*Primate of Ireland in Aghadoe*," the island of Innisfallen, where he lived, being in that parish, which includes also a portion of the town of Killarney. His death is noticed by the Four Masters at A.D. 1009 (*properly*, 1010,) in the following terms: "Maelsuhain O'Carroll, of the family [i.e. religious community] of Innisfallen, *first sage of the western world* in his day, and lord of the Owenacht of Loch Lein [or, Killarney Lake,] died after a good life." No wonder, however, that one holding Dr. Lanigan's opinions relative to the general state of the early Irish Church, should be puzzled in looking for a *primate*, where no *bishop* was to be found. In the *Annals of Ulster*, as translated in the *Clarendon Codex*, tom. 49, in the British Museum, the Obit of the individual just noticed is thus given: "Maelsuhain O'Cervail, chiefe learned of Ireland, and king of Eoganacht Locha Lein" [died.]

The occasion of Dr. Lanigan's perplexity in connection with the other individual, Marcan, abovenamed, is to be found in the circumstance that the said Marcan is called "supreme head of the clergy of Munster." Dr. Lanigan not being aware that this was merely an Irish way of describing one who was looked upon in Munster as a first-rate ecclesiastical dignitary, proceeds to seek for his residence in some of those places which might seem to have been honored with the presence, at some period, or during some continuance of years, of a prelate, or prelates, of archiepiscopal rank; as Cashel, or Emly. But Marcan held no such rank, nor does there appear to be the least reason for supposing him to have been even a bishop. He was, (as Dr. O'Donovan observes, p. 761,) brother of Brian Boru: and his ecclesiastical position was that of abbot of Terryglass, (in Lower Ormond,) a dignity which was held by different members of his family in the same age. Marcan's death is thus noticed by the Four Masters, immediately after that of Maelsuhain O'Carroll, above cited: "Marcan son of Kennedy, head of the clergy of Munster, Coarb of Colum, son of Crivhan, i.e. of Terryglass, Inniscaltra, and Killaloe, died." It is to be observed, however, that the printed Irish original of this passage, in Dr. O'Donovan's edition, is obviously incorrect, both in its punctuation, and in repeating improperly the word "died;" so as to make the passage now cited include two obits, one of "Marcan, son of Kennedy, head of the clergy of Munster," and the other of a "coarb of Colum, son of Crivhan," who would thus be left nameless in the passage. But this error is easily corrected from the corresponding passage in the *Annals of Ulster*, given by Dr. O'Donovan in the *Notes* on the following page, where the person intended is called, "Markan mac Cinnedy, Coarb of Colum mac Crivhainn, of Inis Celtra, and Kildalua."

On the next page of Dr. Lanigan's work after that from which the last extracts have been made, he once more gives indications of the uncertainty introduced into the subject of our ancient ecclesiastical history from want of a right understanding of the points attempted to be cleared up in the present Memoir. Speaking of the bishopric of Meath (p. 454, *Note 55*), he says:—

"Were we to allow that persons called comorbans of Finian of Clonard were bishops, we should add for that see in those times Tuathal O'Follanmuin, who died in 1055, and one or two more, whose names are mentioned by Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 407, and Ware and Harris, *Bishops*, *ib.* But they were probably only abbots."

In other places Dr. Lanigan's comments approach so nearly the true view of the case treated of in this Essay, that it seems strange that he did not in the end apprehend it more fully. The following is one of those instances in which he deals thus reasonably with the case of one of our anomalous ancient prelates. After mention of Idunan, who from being bishop of Clonard, assumed, as Dr. Lanigan supposes, the title of Bishop of Meath, he speaks of "Cele son of Donnagan, *bishop of Leinster*," (already mentioned at p. 16 *sup.*) in the terms which follow:—

"In the same manner as he called himself bishop of Meath, so I meet with a bishop under the title of Leinster in general, Kelius son of Donagan, who is represented as a distinguished elder among those of Ireland, and died in the reputation of sanctity at Glendaloch in 1076. It might seem that he was bishop of *Kildare*, as Ferdornach was, who gave himself said title; but it is to be observed, that his name does not occur in the catalogues expressly drawn up of the prelates of *Kildare*, (*k*) and it is probable that the title, *bishop of Leinster*, means no more than that he was a *Leinster bishop*, and that he was so called in consequence of there not remaining any record of the particular see or place, which he governed." (p. 453.)

Note k. (p. 455). "Kelius is not mentioned in Colgan's minute list of the prelates, &c. of *Kildare*, (*Tr. Th.* p. 229. *seqq.*) and consequently is omitted by Ware and Harris."

Dr. Lanigan, however, did not see, that the reason why there was no mention, in any old record, of the see which Kelius, or Cele, governed, was, that he governed no see at all,—no more than did the other early bishops of Ireland before A.D. 1110; the places of which they were the bishops, as noted in the *Annals*, being not places *governed* by them, but simply those to which they belonged.

The examples now given will suffice to indicate to the reader, what a vast amount of confusion and perplexity has been created among writers on the ecclesiastical history of this country, from imagining a certain preconceived form of church dis-

cipline to have been received into it from the earliest period, and then straining the very unmanageable facts contradictory of such an hypothesis, which are presented to us in our ancient records, in order to get them, "by hook or by crook," to square with the favorite theory so entertained. The old annalists of the country, who knew nothing, at least from experience, of diocesan episcopacy, saw nothing incongruous in recording, that a very large number of those ancient saints, whose names and authority were most highly esteemed among their countrymen, had been but simple presbyters, or of not even so high an ecclesiastical rank in some cases, while the episcopal order was represented, in the same records, by men of altogether inferior fame and power in the country,—at least, men whose fame or power, where they did attain to it in any high degree, had nothing to say to their order, but was such as presbyters might, and did, enjoy equally, where their personal qualifications were such as appeared to render them worthy of it. But when, in later times, a different opinion began to prevail concerning the position and consequence of diocesan prelates, and a new sort of esteem and veneration diffused itself around the episcopal throne, "the seat of judgment," as it now began to be regarded, writers of hagiology forthwith began to imagine, or at least to suggest to others, that those famous worthies of the olden time, whose authority was paramount, and their fame unrivalled, among the people of Ireland, could never have been, in so many instances, of the second order of the clergy, but must surely have attained to episcopal rank, and been at least governors of dioceses. The present Memoir, however, it is hoped, will be found of no small use to assist in clearing away a large portion of the rubbish, which has accumulated, from the source now pointed out, in the way of students preparing to investigate the early history of Christianity in this island.

The last writer whom we shall take occasion to notice, as having assisted in perpetuating and circulating the erroneous notions relative to the *coarbs* &c. of Ireland, to which we have now so largely drawn attention, is the author of the *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh*. In that publication (a work of ability and merit, especially considering the circumstances connected with its production,*) Mr. Stuart gives an explanation, in his *Thirteenth Appendix*, of the name and office of the *Coarbs* &c., which being for the most part borrowed from Ussher and Ware, consists, in great measure, of a republication of their statements concerning the matter. These having been already so largely set forth in the preceding pages, it would be undesirable to repeat so much of them as should again appear, were we to give Mr. Stuart's account of the *Coarbs* and *Erenachs* &c. in full. But a portion of his observations will suffice to shew that he has not done very much towards developing the subject before his readers in a more lucid form than preceding authors had attained to.

At p. 615 of his work, Mr. Stuart thus enters on our subject:—

"St. Patrick seems to have exercised a kind of patriarchal power in this infant church. He is stated to have ordained 365 bishops and 3000 presbyters, and to have founded 365 churches. It is manifest that such a multitude of prelates could not have been of the nature of diocesan bishops, and it is probable that one of these dignified ecclesiastics was allotted by him to each church. It is, indeed, by no means unlikely, that they officiated in their respective churches, at stated times, and occasionally acted as itinerant preachers, diffusing the light of the Gospel, from district to district, like their great preceptor, Patrick. A populous nation, from which heathenism was not yet effectually banished, required active and intelligent missionaries of this nature. The system of appointing numerous bishops, which was the offspring of convenience, seems to have been perpetuated by custom, as we learn from the following remarkable passage in St. Bernard's life of Malachy.—'The bishops,' said he, 'are changed and multiplied at the will of the metropolitan, so that one bishopric was not limited to (or content with) one bishop, but almost every church had its own particular bishop.'

"Besides these, the church of Ireland seems to have acknowledged a species of auxiliary bishop, denominated *Comorban*, *Comharbo* [Comharba? R.K.] or *Corbhanus*. Some Etymologists assert, that this name was synonymous with 'partner,' or 'joint-tenant,' and that he who possessed the office acted during the life of the principal ecclesiastic, to whom he was attached, as his suffragan and assistant bishop. The bishops of Armagh had various *Comorbans*, many of whose names are recorded in Ware's and in Colgan's elaborate works. It is probable that many of the 365 bishops ordained originally by St. Patrick, were of the order of *Comorbans*, &c.—at once coadjutors, suffragans, and successors elect to their principals. [This is all mere fancy, at least little better. No bishop of Armagh, save Patrick himself, had any 'Comorban.' The rest of those bishops were subordinate to his 'Comorbans.' The 'Comorbans' were not suffragans, nor coadjutors, to their principals. E.g. Donald, 'Coarb of Patrick' at the beginning of the 12th century, was neither coadjutor nor suffragan to the saint himself, then 700 years dead. Hardly less erroneous is what immediately follows. R.K.]

"In the same sense of the word [continues Mr. Stuart,] there were *Comorban abbots and friars* ['] There was also an order of *Comorbans*, to whom certain free lands, named *Termon lands*, were allotted by the delivery of a ring from the metropolitan of the see. This kind of *Comorbanship*, though collative, was always made [presented?] to one of the same sept. Thus in the year 1406 Hugh MacTheig was collated to the *comorbanship* of Re, in the diocese of Derry, by Nicholas Fleming, archbishop of Armagh, after it had been held by John MacTheig, and prior to him, by Augustine Mac Theig, John's father, who had been appointed by Milo, archbishop of Armagh, in 1367.

"The episcopal *Comorbans* were not only coadjutors to their principals while living, but were frequently held in high respect, as their appointed successors; and in this sense of the word, we read of the *Comorbans* of St. Patrick, Albe, Columba, Fechin, and others."

The many inaccurate statements contained in these extracts it were superfluous, after what has preceded, to specify again in detail. In what immediately follows in his work, Mr. Stuart goes on to give, from Ussher's treatise, an account of the *Termon* lands, their privileges, the residents, *liberi coloni*, and *ascriptitii*, on them, &c. &c.—the bishop's power to sequester a 'comorbanship,' the part allotted to the 'Corbes,' &c., in the collection and distribution of Church funds, &c., the ordination of the *Erenach* to the *prima tonsura* and diaconate only, their duties in connection with the *Erenach* lands, &c., of Ussher's account of all which enough has been said in this Memoir already. Having ended his remarks from that source, on the topics now alluded to, the author of the *Historical Memoirs* proceeds to add some further original and ingenious matter, augmentative of the confusion that has already clouded the theme of his discourse; as will be seen in the passages next following:—

"Dr. Ledwich conceives that the term *Corbe* was an opprobrious name given by the Romans, about the 12th century, to the married clergy of the Irish Church, as if they indulged in incest and lewdness. But the word was used by the Irish themselves in an honorable sense. In the Annals of Ulster, the name is written *Comhurba* or *Comorba*; and it is recorded that in the year of Christ 858, Imfeathna, Patrick's *Corbe*, and Imsuairlech Finno, his *Corbe*, interfered betwixt O'Carrol, king of Ossory, and the king of Taraughe, who were about to enter into hostilities against each other; and O'Carrol was persuaded to yield to St. Patrick's *Corbe*. So also, in the year 920, Comhgall, the *Corbe* of Moenrach, is styled 'the chief head of all the learning or antiquities of Ireland.' [This is a very absurd perversion of the quotation given in Ussher, which may be seen at p. 57 *sup.* The famous St. Comhgall died in A.D. 800, or 801. Moenach was his *Coarb*, at Bangor, Co. Down. According to Stuart, 'Moenrach' would have been the founder of Comhgall's residence, and Comhgall his successor; who must then have died in A.D. 920 or 921. R.K. After this blunder, Mr. Stuart proceeds:—]

"In fact the word *Comorban* is a mere variation of *Comharba*, a coadjutor, copartner and successor. *Corba*, is evidently an abbreviation of *Cobh-orba* tribute land: and the *Corbe* was the manager of such property. (1) The term *Erenach* is derived from *Er*, noble, and *einach*, generosity; for it was a part of the *Erenach's* duty to relieve the poor and entertain strangers. Hence, also, it was synonymous with *archdeacon*. *Termon* is clearly the same as the Irish word *Termon* or *Tarmon*, a limit, sanctuary, or resource; and *Luach impighe*, or more properly *impidhe*, is 'the price of the petition' (m)." (pp. 617, 618.)

Notes to (1.) "Comhorban is compounded of *Comh*, a ward, protector, or preserver, and *orban*, a patrimony. Hence comhorban signified a successor, that is the ward of a certain patrimony.—*Collect. de rebus Hib. num.* ii. p. 127."

(m) "This petition was, we presume, presented to the bishop on the marriage of the *Erenach's* daughter. The fine was paid so late as the seventeenth century, when it was received by the bishop of Kilmore, as we are informed by Ussher."

Leaving it for those readers who may be able, to gather any harmonious meaning from the etymological suggestions offered

* Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*, the last publication specially devoted to the local history of the seat of the Irish Primacy, was, like the present Essay, published at a Newspaper Office, viz. that of the *Newry Telegraph*. It was issued in 1819, and is perhaps the best County History we have in Ireland; or rather, local History, it being entitled, "of the City of Armagh." It needs however to be re-edited.

to them in what precedes, we shall in the next place direct our attention to an enquiry which may very naturally occur to the mind of one reflecting on the facts and statements which have so far been made the subject of review,—viz., if it be the case, as has been stated, that there were no successions of *archbishops* of the regular sort in Ireland, previously to the twelfth century, and if no *archbishops* of Armagh are to be found named in the Irish Annals during the six hundred preceding years, whence are derived the usual Catalogues of the *Archbishops of Armagh*, published by Ware and others? and what is the most ancient authority for the supposed existence of such a series of Metropolitan prelates in the Primatial See of Ireland? Or when did people first begin to suppose that such a succession had always existed?

The answer to these queries is easy. Among the now lost records of Ireland, known once to have existed, was a famous Manuscript, which went by the name of *the Psalter of Cashel*. Its origin was attributed to the celebrated Cormac Mac Culinan, king and bishop of that place, whose death occurred in A.D. 908; and the following information connected with it, supplied by Dr. Lanigan, (vol. iii. pp. 355, *seqq.*) will be found to our purpose on the present occasion:—

"He [Cormac] wrote the celebrated work, entitled, *the Psalter of Cashel*, (n) in which he treated of the history and antiquities of Ireland. It has been considered as of the highest authority, and was still extant entire in the 17th century, and is probably so somewhere at present. [A.D. 1829] although I know only of some parts of it, which are to be found."

Note (n). "Ware makes mention of it (*Antiq. cap. 21.* and *Archbishops of Cashel at Cormac*) as extant in his time and in great esteem. He says that he had some collections out of it. Keating had a copy of it, which he often quotes, and speaks of it more than once in his Preface as a work to be seen in his days. Colgan also touches on it (*AA. SS. p. 5.*) as actually existing; and Lhuyd (*Archeologia, catalogue of Irish MSS.*) Nicholson (*Irish Histor. Library, ch. 2.*) and Dr. O'Connor (*Ep. Nuncup. &c., p. 65.*) tells us, that there is a part of it in an old MS. of the Bodleian library at Oxford. Some writers pretend that Cormac was not the author of it, and that it was compiled after his times. In fact, there are some circumstances mentioned as taken from it, which belong to a later period; for instance the latter part of the catalogues [catalogue?] of the *archbishops of Armagh* (ap. *Tr. Th. p. 292.*) which comes down to the latter end of the eleventh century. But this proves nothing more than that some additions were made to the original work of Cormac, as has been the case with regard to numbers of historical works, particularly those written in the middle ages."

From the work now described, Colgan has printed, at p. 292 of his *Trias Thaumaturga*, or Lives of SS. Patrick, Columkille, and Brigid, the following

"CATALOGUE OF THE PRIMATES, OR ARCHBISHOPS, OF THE METROPOLIS OF ARMAGH, WITH THE YEARS DURING WHICH THEY SAT,

FROM THE PSALTER OF CASHEL.

	Years.		Years.		Years.
Patricius.....		Seginus.....	27	Fethgna.....	22
Secundinus.....	16	Flannius-ebhla.....	27	Anmirius.....	1
Patric Senior.....	10	Subneus.....	15	Cathasacius.....	4
Benignus.....	10	Kelepetrius.....	7	Moelcova.....	5
Hierliatus.....	18	Ferdachricius.....	10	Maelbrigidus.....	29
Corbmaccus.....	15	Foennelachus.....	3	Joseph.....	9
Dubthachus.....	16	Dubhdaletha.....	15	Moel-Patricius.....	1
Alidus.....	13	Arectactus.....	1	Cathasacius.....	20
Alidus.....	10	Cudinisius.....	4	Muredacius.....	9
Duachus.....		Connmacus.....	14	Dubdaletha.....	33
Fiachrius, al. Hifiachrius....		Torpachus.....	1	Murecanus.....	3
Fedlimius.....	20	Nuadus.....	3	Moelmurius.....	19
Caerlanus.....	10	Maclongsechus.....	13	Amalgadius.....	30
Eochodius.....		Artrigius.....	2	Dubdaletha.....	12
Senachus.....		Eugenius Monaster.....	8	Cumasacius.....	3
Maclarisius.....		F Tarannanus.....	14	Moel-isa.....	27
Tomenius.....	35	Diermitius.....	4	Domnaldus.....	

"The author of this Catalogue appears to have written previously to the year 115 [properly 1105,] in which died Donald, whom he names last in it, and in connection with whom, as still living, he determineth not the number of years during which he governed the See. In the case of St. Patrick he doth similarly: and rightly, seeing that four others, whom he designates as his Successors, or more properly, Vicar-Bishops, departed this life, according to divers authorities, before St. Patrick's own death, which occurred in the year 493. Whether the omitting to determine the number of years to be assigned to the government of some of the others enumerated in the same Catalogue, has been his own doing, or is owing to the fault of others through whose hands the book has come to us, [*vitio librarium*, literally 'fault of librarians,' meaning, perhaps, copyists, or scribes; R. K.] is more than I can tell. In the Catalogue, or Chronicle, which follows, the years noted are those of the obits of these [prelates]: and in it are enumerated some other bishops of Armagh, here omitted; while those here called *Bishops* are throughout in it named *Abbots*."

The Catalogue or Chronicle referred to in the last sentence, is one compiled by Colgan from the *Annals of the Four Masters*, &c., with which we have no particular concern at present. But the Catalogue above given, as from the (now lost) *Psalter of Cashel*, appears to be almost the only record, of any pretensions to antiquity, which any writer has attempted to cite in support of the idea of an unbroken series of Metropolitans having existed in Armagh from the time of St. Patrick to the days of Malachy O'Morgair. And the entire of this document, as now existing, is comprised in the extract above given, from Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*.

But a very insufficient peg, surely, is this, whereon to hang such a weighty burden. For in the first place, having no other copy of the document than that supplied in Colgan's work, it is impossible to tell whether it furnishes any evidence at all on the question at issue; all depending on the title, or heading, which may be that given in the *Psalter* itself, or may, with equal probability, have been supplied by Colgan in republishing it. Whether the list, as it stood in the *Psalter*, had any title, is more than we can say. Or, it may have had the title, "Catalogue of the Successors of St. Patrick;" the word *Successors* being used (in the Latin, in which the document appears in the *Psalter*), as a translation for *Coarbs*, which would occur in the more ancient records whereon this catalogue was founded. This alone would stamp the testimony of the *Psalter* with complete uncertainty.

But, Secondly, internal evidence would seem to justify our attaching much more weight to the statements of the Annals on a point of this kind, than to the authority of such a list as that given in the *Psalter*. The Annals were originally cotemporary records of passing events, framed especially with a view to keeping in memory the dates of the obits of distinguished ecclesiastics, and so, not likely to have any object in assigning to such individuals any titles different from those by which they were actually known. But with the *Catalogue* in the *Psalter* the case was different. It was evidently framed with a view to a particular end, connected with a local succession, and drawn up, apparently, at a time (as Colgan suggests above), adapted to render its character still more suspicious,—at the very time when the foreign ideas concerning ecclesiastical successions, propagated by the Legate Gille, &c., began to be diffused in this country,—during the abbacy of the Coarb Donald, whose death, according to our Annalists, occurred in A. D. 1105.

Having, therefore, no ancient copy of this fragment to refer to, no proof that it has been edited by Colgan and his very careless printers in the exact form in which it appeared in the *Psalter*, and no evidence that any portion of it was compiled before the end of the eleventh century, we conclude, that notwithstanding the weight attached to it by different writers, and the

preference which Dr. Lanigan, in particular, exhibits in various places, for its testimony beyond that of the Irish Annals, it is after all of a character much inferior to theirs, and comparatively worthy of little attention.

The reader who has followed the statements of the present Memoir thus far, will now be in a better position to regard with intelligence and interest the history of the ancient prelates of Armagh supplied to us by the Annalists of Ireland. The account of them promised at page 17 above, we shall accordingly next set forth in the words of those Annalists themselves.

The Four Masters' Account of the Ancient Prelates of Armagh;

Including every notice to be found in their Annals of any persons named by them SUCCESSORS OF ST. PATRICK, or BISHOPS OF ARMAGH, from the time of St. Patrick himself to the Twelfth Century.

(With notes, from O'Donovan's Edition of the *Four Masters*, &c.)

"A.C. 431. St. Patrick was ordained bishop by the holy Pope Celestine I., who directed him to proceed to Ireland to preach to the Gael [i.e. the people of Ireland, R.K.] and instruct them in faith and piety, and give them baptism."

N.B.—The *Annals of Ulster*, a more ancient and better authority, do not mention the ordination of Patrick by Pope Celestine. The statement of the Four Masters on the subject was probably borrowed from some of the *Lives of St. Patrick* compiled long after his death.

A.C. 432. "Patrick arrived in Ireland this year, and proceeded to give baptism and blessing to Ireland, men, women, sons, and daughters, excepting a few that would not receive the faith or baptism from him, as his Life narrates. Trim was founded by Patrick, after having been granted by Felim, son of Laoghaire, [i.e. Larry] son of Neill, to God, to him, to Loman and to Fortchern. Flann of Monaster [boice] composed the lines,—

"Patrick, Abbot of all Ireland, son of Calprann, son of Fotaide," &c.

Then follows the remainder of this legendary poem, giving an account of St. Patrick's relatives, domestics, and other connections, and attributed to Flann, abbot of Monasterboice, Co. Louth, who died A.D. 1056. It contains nothing of sufficient interest to make it worth citing at greater length here.

A.C. 447. "Secundinus, i.e. Seachnall Mac Ua Baird, son of Patrick's sister, i.e. of Darerca, bishop of Armagh, yielded up his spirit on the 27th of November, in the 75th year of his age."

"The only authority for making Secundinus Archbishop of Armagh is a passage in the *Tripartite Life* of St. Patrick (*lib. iii.*, c. 81), which states, that before St. Patrick set out for Rome in search of relics, he had intrusted Secundinus with the care of the archbishopric of Armagh and the primacy of Ireland; but it is very clear, from the whole tenor of Patrick's proceedings, that he did not go to Rome on this occasion; and it is equally clear that Secundinus was never archbishop of Armagh, though he might have resided there while Patrick was preaching in other parts of Ireland."—O'Donovan.

A.C. 457. "Armagh founded by St. Patrick, after it had been granted to him by Daire, son of Finnagh, son of Owen, son of Niallan.—Twelve men were appointed by him for building the town. He ordered them, in the first place, to erect an archbishop's city there, and a church for monks, for nuns, and for the other orders in general, for he perceived that it would be the head and chief of the churches of Ireland at large."

"Old Patrick breathed forth his spirit."

Ardmagh, or as it is in the original, *Ard-Macha*, i.e. "Macha's height," was so called, it seems, from a woman of that name; perhaps from the celebrated *Macha Mongruadh*, foundress of the royal fort called Eamhania, (now 'the Navan Fort,') near Armagh. "Ussher (*Primordia*, p. 854,) thought that the name was compounded of *ard*, high, and *macha*, a field; but no Irish scholar ever gave it that interpretation."—O'Donovan. In the shorter notice of the foundation of Armagh, which occurs in the *Ulster Annals*, it is referred to A.D. 444, thus:—

"A.D. 444. *Armagh was founded. From the building of the city [of Rome] to the founding of this city are MCCCIV. years.*"

The story of Patrick's having built a noble city, &c., at Armagh, is narrated in his Life, as written by the monk Joceline in the twelfth century, but rejected by more sober modern writers. "Strange that Ussher has copied this stuff," is Dr. Lanigan's comment on it. (Vol. I. p. 315.) He (Dr. L.) supposes that the buildings erected at Armagh by the saint were merely, in all probability, a church, a cloister for his clerical associates, and a suitable habitation for the pious women who had placed themselves under his direction; a more likely account, certainly, than that here incorporated by the Four Masters into their Annals.

Old Patrick, whose death is above recorded, is a remarkable personage in our early history, the circumstances of whose life are involved in great obscurity. He is mentioned in the preceding catalogue of the Prelates of Armagh from the Psalter of Cashel, in which his name occurs as the third of that series. Also, in the very ancient metrical Irish Life of St. Patrick, called the *Hymn of Fiech*, attributed to Fiech, bishop of Sletty, in Carlow, A.D. 540; in which it is said (*Stroph. 33*. See *Tr. Th.*) that "When Patrick died, he went to the other Patrick, and they ascended together to Jesus the son of Mary." In the Poem of Flann abovementioned, *Old Patrick*, or *Sen-Patrick* (or *Patrick Senior*, as he is sometimes called,) is described among the associates of the great St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, as "the head of his wise seniors." Another old Irish authority, of the latter end of the eighth century, called the *Feilire*, or "Festal Calendar," of Ængus, makes him to have been *tutor* to his more famous namesake: while, from a note on the same, (at Augt. 24,) it appears that his relics were considered to have been preserved at Armagh. (See also *Lan. 1*, 367.) His death is mentioned in the *Annals of Connaught* at 453; and in those of *Ulster* at 457, in these words "The rest of *Sen-Patrick*, as other books mention." (*ib.* 327.) "Dr. Lanigan," says O'Donovan, "scoffs at the idea of the existence of any other St. Patrick except the great apostle of Ireland, but he is evidently over-sceptical." (*Notes* at A.D. 457.)

The fact is, that we cannot reasonably doubt that there were two eminent individuals of this name, distinguished, about the same period, among the early promoters of Christianity in Ireland, whose acts have been much confounded together. *Sen-Patrick*, not the Apostle of Ireland, was very possibly the first bishop of Armagh, after whom Benin, or Benignus, next occupied the office.

A. C. 467. "Benin, son of Seisgnen, bishop of Armagh, breathed forth his spirit."

A. C. 481. "S. Jarlath, son of Treana, bishop of Armagh, breathed forth his spirit."

A. C. 493. "Patrick, son of Calpran, son of Potaide, archbishop, first primate, and arch-apostle (*ardapostol*) of Ireland, whom Pope Celestine I. sent to preach the gospel, and to disseminate religion and piety among the Gael. . . . breathed forth his spirit to heaven, in the 122nd year of his age."

The *Four Masters* give here a rather lengthened statement of Patrick's labors for the suppression of idolatry in this island, and the conversion of its people, which is not, however, in any way, of sufficient interest or importance to induce us to find space for inserting it entire in this place.

A. C. 496. "Cormac of *Crioch-an-earnidhe*, Bishop of Armagh, Coarb of Patrick, breathed forth his spirit."

In the copy of the *Féilire*, or Festilog, of Áengus, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, this Cormac is called "*Coarb of Patrick in Trim*," which would make him to have been Abbot there, instead of at Armagh. Ware enumerates him among the Archbishops of Armagh, although noticing his having been also, as he states, Bishop of Trim.

A. C. 612. "Dubhthach [or Duffy] of Druimdearv, Bishop of Armagh, breathed forth his spirit."

Druimdearv is probably *Derver*, Co. Louth.—O'Donovan.

A. C. 525. "Ailill, Bishop of Armagh, who was of the Hy-Breasail [tribe], died."

Hy-Breasail, i.e. "the race of Breasal:" otherwise called the *Hy-breasail-Macha*, and *Clannbreasail*. The territory of *Clanbrasil* appears to have been coextensive with the present barony of Oneilland East.—O'Don.

A.C. 535. "Oilill, Bishop of Armagh, died. He also was of the Hy-Breasail [race.]"

A.C. 547. "S. Dubhthach, Abbot of Armagh, died. He was of the race of Colla Uais."

Colla Uais was, according to the Four Masters, monarch of Ireland in A.D. 923.

A.C. 550. "David, son of Guaire Ua Forannain, Bishop of Armagh, and Legate of all Ireland, died."

So is this David styled in the old *Translation* of the Annals of Ulster. But the learned Dr. O'Connor observes that *Legate of all Ireland* "is not to be found in any of the *Irish* copies of the *Ulster Annals*."—O'Don. And indeed it is well known that no such officer existed in this country, until the time of Gille, bishop of Limerick in the 12th century.

A.C. 577. "Feidhlimidh Finn [i.e. Phelimy the Fair,] Abbot of Armagh, died."

A.C. 587. "S. Caorlan, Bishop of Armagh, died on the 24th day of March."

A.C. 597. "Eochaidh, [or 'Hoey,'] son of Diarmaid, Bishop and Abbot of Armagh, died."

A.C. 609. "Seanaoh, Abbot of Armagh, from Clunygree, died."

What place it was that went by this name, is not now known.

A.C. 622. "Mac Laisire, [i.e. the 'Son of Laisir,'] Bishop and Abbot of Armagh, died."

A.C. 660. "S. Tomene, son of Ronan, Bishop of Armagh, died."

In the *Annals of Ulster*, at the same year, he is called in the same way, simply, *Bishop of Armagh*. But the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (at A.D. 657) style him "*Abbot and Bishop of Armagh*."

A.C. 686. "S. Seghene, Bishop of Armagh, died. He was from Aghaclive."

Where this place was is not now known.

A.C. 704. "Flann Feabhla, [or Fewla,] son of Scanlan, Abbot of Armagh, died."

"He is set down as *archbishop* of Armagh for twenty seven years in the list of the prelates of Armagh preserved in the fragment of the Psalter of Cashel, already often referred to."—O'Donovan. The circumstance that he, and others in like manner named *archbishops* by Ware &c., are in the *Annals of the Four Masters* styled simply *abbots*, or in some cases *bishops*, affords an internal evidence of the truthfulness and authenticity of those Annals, in so far as entries of this kind are concerned. Had such entries been invented, or altered, in any modern, or not very ancient, times, by men imbued with such notions of our ancient episcopacy in Ireland as commonly prevail, (and such as Ware, Lanigan, and other learned men, have countenanced,) we should no doubt have found mention in the Annals, of all those persons that are usually regarded as forming the series of early *Archbishops of Armagh*, under that name, instead of their being called *Abbots*, as they generally are. The reader will remember, in connection with this, the observation already made at pp. 16, 17, *sup.* that not once in all the ages intervening between the death of Patrick and the appointment of Malachy O'Morgair to the Coarbship, is the title of *Archbishop of Armagh* applied by the Irish annalists to the chief prelate of the ecclesiastical metropolis of their country.

A. C. 729. "Suibhne [pronounced Sweeny,] son of Cronnmael, son of Ronan, Bishop of Armagh, died the 21st of June. He was of the Hy-Niallan" [or Oneilland race.]

"This tribe, who furnished so many *archbishops* to the See of Armagh, were seated in the present baronies of Oneilland, in the County of Armagh."—O'Donovan. The persons intended were, however, *not archbishops*.

So far as we have now proceeded, the entries to be found in the Annals concerning the Abbots and Bishops who came after St. Patrick, communicate to us merely their names, the dates of their several deaths, and the territories to which some of them belonged. But the next passage to be cited brings before us a curious transaction in the history of the Coarbship, which exhibits at once the high degree of influence possessed by the "Coarbs of Patrick" at an early period in the Eighth Century, and the unhappy purposes to which that influence was, in some instances, applied.

A. C. 732. "The third year of Hugh Allan, [king of Ireland.] . . . The battle of Faughart in Moy Muirhevne [was fought] by Hugh Allan, and the Clanna Neill of the North, against the Ulidians, [i.e. those of the County Down,] wherein Hugh Roin, king of Ulidia, was slain, and his head was cut off, on the Claghancommey, in the doorway of the church of Faughart. And Connagh, son of Cuana, chief of Cova [or Moy-cova, a plain in Iveagh, Co. Down,] was slain, and many others along with him.

"The occasion of this battle was an outrage committed on Kill-Cunna by Ua Seghain, one of the people of Hugh Roin; in connection with which Hugh Roin himself said, 'I will not separate its *Conn* from the *Tairr*.' For *Killcunna* and *Kill-tairre* are side by side. Congas, *Coarb of Patrick*, composed the lines following, to instigate Hugh Allan to revenge this outrage on the church. For he was *anmchara* [literally, *soul-friend*, or 'spiritual adviser,'] to Hugh. And his words were these:—

"Say to the cold Hugh Allan, that I have been oppressed by a feeble army.

"Hugh Roin last night insulted me at Kill-Cunna of the sweet music."

"Hugh Allan [thereupon] assembles his forces to Faughart: and these were the words of Hugh Allan as he started for the battle;

"For Cunna, for the church of my soul-friend, I take the road for this journey to-day.—

"Hugh Roin shall leave his head with me, or I mine with him."

"It was of the same battle it was said,—

"Hugh Allan, king of Ere, 'twas, that slaughtered Hugh Roin and his Ulidians.

"For their entertainment [coigny] at Kill-Cunna he placed soles to necks."

The antiquity of this curious narrative is attested by the style of the language in which it is penned. And although it is for this reason obscure in part, yet the general purport is intelligible enough. It is plain that the battle took place at the instigation of Conghas, or Conghus, *Coarb of Patrick* at that time, and in revenge for an injury done to the church and ecclesiastics of Killcunna. This place is now called Kilcooney, in the parish of Ballyclog, barony of Dungannon, and county of Tyrone. And Kill-Tairre, now Kilharry, is a glebe in the parish of Donaghmore, in the same barony. The trespass committed by Hugh Roin consisted, it seems, in the extortion of a forcible refection, or entertainment, at Kill-Cunna, accompanied with an insulting witticism, conveyed in language, the sense of which has been in part lost; for we cannot now determine the double meaning intended to be applied to the words from which the two churches derived their names. Dr. O'Donovan thinks it not impossible that *Conn* may have been used to signify *head*, and *tairr* body, and that the sense intended may have been, that Hugh

Roin had already made such an aggression upon Killharry in the first instance, and expressed his determination to treat Killcoony no better; that he might not seem to separate between *head* and *body*.

At all events, the Coarb Conghus instigated the monarch Hugh Allan to avenge the outrage: and he accordingly took up arms for the purpose, and assembled his forces at Faughart, St. Brigid's birthplace, near Dundalk. This was in *Moy-Muirheerne*, called also Conaille Muirheerne, i.e. the level country of Louth, between the Boyne and the Carlingford mountains, in which are situated Dundalk, Louth, Dromiskin, Monasterboice, &c. A fierce engagement ensued, in which Hugh Roin lost his life, having been decapitated on the Clogh-an-commey, or 'Stone of Breaking,' (as Dr. O'Donovan explains it,) which is still pointed out at the doorway of the church of Faughart. The expression '*soles to necks*,' in the last line of the extract, Dr. OD. explains as an idiomatic phrase, indicating "indiscriminate carnage, in which the sole of the foot of one body was placed over against, or across, the neck or headless trunk of another." It may, however, simply express the triumphant attitude of conquerors over their fallen victims. See *Joshua* x. 24.

A.C. 749. "Conghus the Scribe, Bishop of Armagh, died. He was of the race of Ainmire."

Though called here only *Bishop*, yet, from the narrative above given, it appears that he was also *Coarb*, or Abbot. For Colgan's view of the *Scribe's* office see pp. 27, 28, *sup*.

A.C. 758. "Gorman, Coarb of Mochta of Louth, died in Clonmacnoise, on his pilgrimage, and he was father to Torbach, Coarb of Patrick."

A.C. 757. "Celepeadair, Abbot of Armagh, died. He was of the Hy-Breasail [tribe.]"

A.C. 771. "Feardachrioch [or 'Ferdachry,'] Abbot of Armagh, son of Suibhne [Sweeny,] son of Ronan, son of Cronnmaoil, died."

A.C. 778 [properly 783,] "The promulgation of Patrick's Law [*Cain Phatraig*, 'Patrick's Tribute,' or 'Dues,'] at Croghan [was made] by Dubhdaleithe, [pronounced 'Du-da-lé-ha,'] and by Tiopraide, son of Teigue."

See p. 32 *sup*. This Tiopraide, or "Tibraide, son of Teigue, king of Connaught," is mentioned again by the Four Masters at A.D. 779, as victor in the battle of Carnconnell, (Co. Galway,) and his death is noted by them at 781. Dubhdaleithe, "Abbot of Armagh," died, according to the same authors, in 792. But as they have at A.D. 790 the death of "Cudinaisc Abbot of Armagh," we are left in uncertainty as to which was abbot in 778. For Cudinaisc might have resigned, or been deposed, before the appointment of Dubhdaleithe; so as that the latter *might* have been abbot in this year, when he effected the levying of "Patrick's Tribute" at Rath-Croghan (parish of Elphin, Co. Roscommon) in Connaught, in conjunction with the king of that Province; while Cudinaisc, ceasing to fill the abbacy, might have survived to 792, as above stated. Or Dubhdaleithe might have engaged in such proceedings as the collection of that tribute in Connaught, while only *Tanist-Abbot*, and not have succeeded to the abbacy itself till the death of Cudinaisc in 792.

A.C. 779, "Cearnach [or 'Kearney'] son of Suibhne, Prior of Armagh, died."

This is the first mention, in the Annals, of such an officer. But his post, which was equivalent to that of "Vice-Abbot," was one that would naturally prove necessary, in order to provide for the government of the religious establishment with which he was connected, on such occasions as during the absence of the abbot in distant parts of Ireland, &c.; as when he visited Connaught or Munster (e.g.) for the purpose of collecting his abbatial tribute, or such offerings as might be made by devout people towards the maintenance of the institution under his care.

A.C. 784 [This year there occurred] "a profanation of the *Bachall-Isa* and relics (*mions*) of Patrick, by Donogh, son of Donnell, at *Rath-airthir*, on occasion of the Fair [there.]"

See pp. 83, 84, 40, *sup*. *Rath-airthir*, i.e. "the eastern rath," or fort, was so named from its position in the district where the celebrated fair and sports of Tailltin (now Teltown, Co. Meath,) were held. The place is still called in Irish by the same name, and in English, *Oristown*. The Donogh abovementioned made, it appears, a false oath on some of the relics held most sacred among the Irish people; a crime considered sufficiently serious to be deserving of a notice in the national records of the country.

The recurrence of a mention of St. Patrick's relics gives occasion for the introduction, in this place, of a curious ancient record connected with his *Bell*, (see pp. 41, 42, *sup*.) from the Register of Milo Sweteman, Archbishop of Armagh, A.D. 1365; which is worth insertion, as having never heretofore been printed, either in its original form, (in *Latin*), or otherwise. The translation following is made from a copy kindly supplied by the learned individual at present engaged in transcribing, for his Grace the Lord Primate, the very ancient volume in which this record is preserved. (*Ex Reg. Milonis, fol. 28 b. chart.*)

PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO OMOLKALLAN'S [i.e. MULHOLLAND'S] NATION, HOLDING PRO TEM. THE BELL OF ST. PATRICK,
AT THE TIME OF A GENERAL INTERDICT.

"Be it known by these presents, that we, Milo, by the Grace of God, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, do, with the unanimous good will and assent of our Dean and Chapter of Armagh, give and grant by special privilege to our son beloved in Christ, Cuulad Omolkall[an] and his successors, and all of his nation, and others his subjects, on the lands, or in the tenements, belonging to the Bell of St. Patrick, our Patron, situated in our Diocese,—that if it shall happen that we, or any other [acting] in our name, or any officer belonging to us or our church, shall, for any causes, have interdicted generally the lands of any superior lord of the same parts, or subjected their persons or places to a general Interdict ecclesiastical,—it is our will that the said Cuulad and his successors, and others of his Nation, as is premised, and their lands situated within the district of the said Bell, are not to be held bound to the observance of such Interdict; but that the said Interdict, so far as concerns the said Cuulad and any of them, be then as now regarded as not promulgated,—unless the said Cuulad or any of his people shall have furnished the occasion of such Interdict, or unless there be found, for just cause, express mention introduced by us and the publisher of said Interdict, that the same Cuulad or his people are to be included in such Interdict:—On this condition, however, that the same Cuulad and his successors to be hereafter shall, he, or they, by the authority and privilege aforesaid connected with the Bell, enforce for us and our subjects, and tenants, the recovery of all property, spiritual and temporal, belonging to us or them, from all aggressors, thieves, robbers, or usurpers, in whatsoever form, or under whatsoever color, who may be resident within the limits of such enforcement or execution on their part;—or else, that he or they shall, in such sort that hath been usual, celebrate a fast for them by authority of our Bell aforesaid: (whereupon we undertake, promise, and grant, to the said Cuulad and his successors, the rendering of our aid to himself and those his successors, against such malefactors, by proceeding to enforce against them, on their requisition, canonically and rigorously, the censures ecclesiastical:—) and that the same Cuulad and his successors shall [not, knowingly,] he, or they, admit, nor receive, to his [patro]nage, countenance, protection, or support, by the authority or privilege connected with said Bell, any person [or persons] excommunicated, or person, or persons interdicted, by us, or any one acting in our name, or that of our church. And if he, or they, shall have admitted . . . that as soon as ever he, or they, shall know, he, and they, shall [thenceforth] exclude from their patronage . . . In testimony whereof we have affixed our seal to these presents, together with [the common seal of our Chapter aforesaid.] Given at Tarmefeghyn, [i.e. Tarmefeghyn,] on the Wednesday next . . . [in the year of our Lord One Thousand] cccmo. lxxv. And of our Consecration the Fourth Year."

The above record, in the original, having suffered by the injuries of time, some words are deficient in it, viz. where the dotted blanks occur in this translation, and also where the words between brackets in *roman type* are supplied, either as implied in the context, or as appearing in corresponding parts of other analogous documents.

The practice of meeting to hold a fast, with a view to soliciting the interference of the Almighty for the avenging of some particular offender, or the redress of some particular grievance, appears to have been not unusual among the old Irish. The object of such a course in connection with the Bell, as hinted at in the above record, would be, no doubt, to confirm and aggra-

vate the penalties reckoned on as likely to follow, from the anger of the Most High "and St. Patrick," the guilty individual who dared to profane by a false oath, or otherwise exhibit a contempt for, such a sacred relic of the great Apostle of Ireland.

As an example of the practice referred to, we may cite an entry which occurs at A.D. 1043 of the Four Masters, of the tenor following:—

A.C. 1043. "*A Fast celebrated by the Congregation of Kiaran [i.e. the clerical body connected with the Abbot of Clonmacnoise,] at Tullagh-Garvey, [parish of Noughaval, Co. Westmeath,] for Aedh Ua Coinicle, Lord of Teaffa [Co. Longford;] and the Bearnan-Kiarain [i.e. St. Kieran's gapped or broken Bell,] was rung from the end of the Bachall-Isa against him, on the spot where he turned his back upon the clergy. Right on the same spot was Aedh beheaded, before the end of a month, by Murtoth O'Melaghlin.*"

The *Bachall-Isa*, ordinarily kept at Armagh, "was on this occasion sent for by the clergy of St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise, to add solemnity to their denunciation of the chief of Teffia."—*O'Donovan*.

A.C. 790. [*properly*, 795.] "Cudinaise, son of Conasach, Abbot of Armagh, died."

A.C. 792. [*properly*, 797.] "Dubhdalethe, son of Sionach, Abbot of Armagh, died."

A.C. 793. [*properly*, 798.] "Aiffiath, Bishop of Armagh, and Aireachtach Ua Faolain, Abbot of Armagh, died in one night."

This remarkable entry would alone suffice to render it apparent, that the *Bishop of Armagh*, and the *Abbot of Armagh*, were two different persons; while from the general tenor of these same Annals in other places, it is no less apparent that the one possessed of the chief dignity, power, and wealth, was the *Abbot*, not the *Bishop*. Writers, however, wedded to preconceived systems opposed to this view, are not easily induced to see the true bearing of such a statement in its natural aspect. "From this passage it might appear," says Dr. O'Donovan, "that the abbot and the bishop were different persons; but Ware thinks that the person called Comharba of Patrick, or Abbot of Armagh, was the Primate of all Ireland." Ware is plainly wrong there.

A.C. 794 [*properly*, 799.] "Foendelach, son of Moenach, Abbot of Armagh, died, after Dubhdaleithe had been engaged first, and Gormghal afterwards, in contention with him about the abbacy."

It may be observed, that such struggles as are here noticed, were always for the *abbacy*, never for the *bishopric*, of Armagh; the circumstances of the latter office being evidently such as to hold out less of temptation to the worldly and ambitious to engage in contention about it. As Dubhdaleithe died in 792, Foendelach must, according to the account of the *Four Masters*, have been in possession of the office, or at least engaged in a struggle for it, before that time. And yet Aireachtach Ua Faolain, *Abbot of Armagh*, died in the very next year, 793. And Gormghal, *Abbot of Armagh*, whose death is noted by the *Four Masters* at 805, (according to their counting,) was also engaged in contest with Foendelach for the abbacy, of course before this year 794, in which Foendelach died. The number of persons thus named as holding, or struggling for, the office of abbot, in so short a time, (each, in his turn, succeeding, apparently, in securing to himself a temporary possession,) appears to afford additional evidence of the growing consequence attached, at the period in question, to this ecclesiastical dignity.

The next passage from the *Four Masters* to be submitted to the reader's notice, contains a record of a remarkable transaction in the history of the Irish Church, and of the circumstances which led to the exemption of the clergy from *forced* attendance on the military expeditions of the secular princes. From the statement here furnished, it appears that the Irish ecclesiastics were subject to this burden until the end of the eighth century,—that they then, headed by Connmach, (or Conway,) Coarb of Patrick, made application to the chief Monarch of Ireland for relief from it;—and that, on his referring their case for consideration to a distinguished adviser named *Fothadh of the Canoin*, the latter pronounced in favor of the clergy; whose petition was accordingly granted by the monarch. The absence of any reference to the authority of the *Church of Rome* in this transaction harmonises completely with the general testimony borne by the *Annals*, throughout, to the full independence of the Irish Church in those ages, and her entire freedom from any foreign control, such as was afterwards admitted.

A.C. 799. "Hugh Oirnie gathered an exceeding great army for an expedition to Leinster, and did lay waste Leinster twice in one month. Again was there made by him a full muster of the men of Ireland, (excepting those of Leinster,) both laymen and clergy, who proceeded as far as Dun Cuair, [now, *Rathcore*,] on the borders of Meath and Leinster. Thither came Clonnmhach, Coarb of Patrick, attended by the clergy of Leath-Cuinn. [i.e. of the 'Northern Half' of Ireland.] The clergy were unwilling to go on any [such] expeditions. They complained of their grievance to the king. The king, i.e. Hugh, said that he would act [in the matter] as *Fothadh na Canoine* should suggest: whereupon he gave utterance to that judgment, whereby he freed the clergy of Ireland for ever from expeditions and hostings, when he said:—

"With the Church of the Living God meddle not, nor waste her.

"Let her rights be protected, in their fullest sense, inviolate.

"Let every monk render service, with pure conscience,

"To the church to which it is due, as every servant [renders to his lord.]

"All other warriors beside them, free from religious rule or bond,

"May well engage in aiding Hugh, the mighty son of Niall.

"Justice exacts thus much: no more, nor less:

"That each, content, unmurmuring, his proper duty may fulfil."

N.B. *Fothadh na Canoine* means *Fothadh*, or *Fothadius*, of the *Canon*. He had, perhaps, charge of the *Canoin Phadruig* (see pp. 33, 34, *sup.*) and may have occupied himself much in studying the copy of the New Testament contained in it: from his intimacy with which he may have been considered a suitable adviser in the practical matter above concerned.

A.C. 804 [*properly*, 809.] "Ulidia was plundered by Hugh Oirnie, the king, in revenge of Donogh's having profaned the Shrine of Patrick." [See at A.D. 784 *sup.*]

A.C. 805 [*properly*, 810.] "Gormghal, son of Dindaghach, Abbot of Armagh and Clones, died."

A.C. 806 [*properly*, 811.] "Connmhach, son of Dubhdaleithe, Abbot of Armagh, died suddenly."

A.C. 807 [*properly*, 812.] "Casey, son of Hugh, Prior of Armagh, and Abbot of many other churches, died Torbach, son of Gorman, Scribe, Lector, and Abbot of Armagh, died. He was of the Kinel-Torbaigh, i.e. the O'Kelly Breagh, [race]; and it was of the same stock that Conn-na-mbocht came, who flourished at Clonmacnoise, and who had the name of Conn-na-mbocht given him from the number of paupers that he constantly supported."

The entry concerning the Prior Casey, above, illustrates the fact, of which numberless other instances might easily be adduced, that the abbots in those days were frequently *pluralists* and *non resident*, governing, it is to be supposed, their distant establishments by the intervention of Priors, or Vice-Abbots. Torbach, "the Primate," as Ware &c. make him, was, as we have already seen (p. 21 *sup.*) a married man, and the progenitor of a very distinguished family.

A.C. 808 [*properly*, 813.] "Toitcheach Ua Tighearnaigh [To-i-kagh O'Tierney] of Tir-Iomchlaire, Abbot of Armagh, died."

Ware has no mention of this prelate in his enumeration of the so-called early "*Archbishops of Armagh*." It is difficult, indeed, to understand by what principle that learned writer was guided in his elaborate effort to exhibit a regular succession of those dignitaries. For he admits into his list every *bishop* or *abbot* named in the preceding extracts to so far down as *Dubhdaleithe*, (A.D. 792,) who makes the 23rd in his catalogue, reckoning from Patrick inclusive. But finding at the next year mention of a *bishop* and an *abbot* who both died in one night, he seems to have been at a loss which to choose as the representative of his fancied succession at that date; as feeling it perhaps to be rather against his general principle to include an *abbot*, while excluding a *bishop*; and yet seeing this course pursued in that high authority of his, the fragment of the *Psalter of Cashel*, which has been printed at p. 67, above. In this dilemma he accepts the *bishop*, who is accordingly raised by him to the rank

of an archbishop; while he extinguishes *the abbot* completely. As far as one can see, the general method on which such writers have proceeded, appears to be this:—in the early part of the Annals, *where names were scarce*, it was expedient, in constructing such successional catalogues, to include all that could be found either as *bishops* or *abbots*; but in the annals of a later period, the more numerous entries occurring afforded opportunity of selection, and the notices of the *abbots* in those times being evidently the most frequent, and best adapted, in *almost every way*, for framing such a succession as was looked for, our historical writers have taken upon them to present those old abbots with episcopal mitres, and advance them to the dignity of metropolitan archbishops; while the real bishops of their times were set aside as *chorepiscopi*, or coadjutors of some non-descript kind, whose names had no business in the Annals, and were only calculated by their insertion to puzzle and annoy men of orderly and well regulated minds.

Accordingly, in Ware's Catalogue, from the time of Benin, who is supposed to have been appointed chief prelate of Armagh by St. Patrick in A.D. 455, to the death of Dubhdaleithe in 792, there are enumerated, altogether, 22 prelates in 337 years; of whom 10 are described in the Annals as mere *Bishops*, 9 as *Abbots*, and 3 as *Abbots and Bishops*. The next period of 337 years (ending with the death of Primate Kellach in 1129), is filled in Ware's Catalogue by a series of 28 prelates, who were *all Abbots*, (some few of them being both *bishops and abbots*;) excepting Affiath abovementioned; while, during the same period (of this second 337 years,) Ware omits four persons named *Abbots* in the Annals, and no less than eleven "*Bishops of Armagh*," whom he would not acknowledge as such in a proper sense, in consequence of having already filled their places with those Abbots or Coarbs, whom the imagination of modern authors has created Archbishops of our Province.

A.C. 810. "Nuadha, Abbot of Armagh, made a journey to Connaught."

The Four Masters do not inform us concerning the occasion of this visit. But the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* notices a transaction connected with it, illustrative, in some degree, of the state, and mode of levying, of ecclesiastical income in those days. St. Patrick, it is said, entrusted Cormac, afterwards prelate of Armagh, (see at A.D. 496, *above*;) to three Bishops in the neighbourhood of Elphin, (whose churches and names are specified,) to be educated by them: and those bishops afterwards "made it a custom to give, each of them, one cow yearly, to their disciple, on occasion of his coming to visit them, about the feast of all Saints; chiefly from the reverence they entertained for their holy father Patrick, who had given him to them in charge, to nourish and educate. And this practice grew afterwards into a regular custom and duty with their successors, *viz.* that they should give, yearly, a cow each, to the Successors of S. Cormac: until Nuadha, Abbot of Armagh, released them from this burden." It is added, that "the Successors of St. Patrick are ill-pleased at having been deprived of their rights in that parish." (See Reeves's *Colton's Visn. of Derry*, p. vi.)

A.C. 811 [*properly*, 816.] "Nuadha of Loch-huamha, Bishop, Anchorite, and Abbot of Armagh, died."

"The Annals of Ulster agree with those of the Four Masters in the date of this Nuadha's death. In most other entries at this period they differ about four years, the Four Masters being five years, and the Annals of Ulster one year, antedated."—O'Donovan.

A.C. 817. "Artri, son of Conor, made a journey to Connaught with the Shrine of Patrick." (See p. 32 *sup.*)

A.C. 822. "The Law of Patrick (*Lex Pattraice*) [was promulgated] over Munster, by Felim, son of Crivhan, [king of Munster,] and by Artri, son of Conor, *i.e.* Bishop of Armagh."

A.C. 824. "The Law of Patrick [was promulgated] throughout the three divisions of Connaught by Artri, son of Conor, *i.e.* Bishop of Armagh."

It appears from these entries, compared with others of like purport in the Annals, that although in the case of the three ecclesiastics of Roscommon abovementioned, (at A.D. 810,) an Abbot of Armagh, Nuadha, is stated to have remitted a tax which had been paid his predecessors from their churches, yet the more general policy of the Armagh prelates in this age was to increase their tribute, and exhibit new activity in those visitation circuits (extended now to Connaught and Munster,) which were found so fruitful a means of replenishing their treasury. With such growing revenues and increasing influence, the Coarbship naturally became an object of greater attraction to the cupidity and ambition of men aspiring to wealth and power. And in the next passage that we meet with relating to it in the Annals, it becomes, for the first time, the occasion of a sanguinary contest between two parties engaged in the support of rival claimants of the dignity; as the reader will see in what follows:—

A.C. 825. "An aggression [was made] on Owen Mainstreach [*i.e.* Owen of Monasterboice; See p. 20, *sup.*] in regard to the Primacy (*prionhaidheacht*) of Armagh. For Cumusgach, son of Cathal, lord of Oriel, deposed him therefrom by force, and set up in his place Artri, son of Conor, who [*i.e.* which Artri] was son to Cumusgach's mother. Owen, [who was] Lector of Monaster[boice], composed thereupon the lines following, wherewith he sent his psalm-singer to communicate with Niall Caille, [next successor to the throne of Ireland;] as it was he that was Niall's *anmchara*, [or, 'spiritual adviser,'] on the subject of securing to him the Coarbship of Patrick: for he, *i.e.* Niall, was powerful in Ulster.

"Tell Niall no good [will come to him of] the curse of Owen, son of Anna.

"In the kingly rank he holds shall he not remain, except his *anmchara* be Abbot."

"The end of the matter is, that Niall collects his troops, *viz.* the races of Conall and Owen, [*i.e.* the people of Tir-Connell and Tir-Owen, or of Donegal or Tyrone]. Cumusgach, Lord of Oriel, and Murray, son of Hoey, lord of Iveagh-Uladh, [*i.e.* Iveagh, Co. Down,] collect [also] the Oriel men and Ulidians. And a furious battle is fought between them, *i.e.* the battle of Leath-Cam in Moyenir [parish of Kilmore, Co. Armagh.] . . . The forces of Aileach were beaten on the first two days, before the men of Oriel. But on the third day, when Niall himself came into the battle at Leath-luin, in the vicinity of Leath-cam, the Oriel-men were defeated and cut down, and were followed in pursuit to Creeve-Caille, on the Callan, to the west of Armagh. And the victory was gained over the Ulidians and Oriel-men, and great was the slaughter that was made of them. Among the slain there, were Cumusgach and Congalach, both sons of Cathal, and others of high estate among the Oriel-men.

"After this, Owen Mainstreach gained possession of the arch-coarbship (*ardcomharbus*) of Patrick for the space of nine years following, by means of the power of Niall Caille, &c." [This "&c." is in the original. R.K.]

"On the slaughter of the Oriel men at the battle of Leath-cam, one of the Seniors of the Family of Armagh, [*i.e.* a cleric of the religious community under the Abbot of Armagh,] spake thus:—

"Ill was our luck when we gained our end; ill was our luck when we passed by Leire,

"And ill our luck in accepting Owen, in preference to any [other] pilgrim in Ere."

In these lines the writer appears to lament it as an unhappy circumstance, that the *Seniors of Armagh* had ever accepted Owen for their Abbot, seeing what bloodshed was connected afterwards with his struggle to maintain himself in the "primacy;" which might perhaps have been avoided, had they been less inclined to prefer Owen to some rival candidate for the office. It would seem that they had passed by, or set aside, the claims of some such candidate, connected with the church of *Leire*, *i.e.* the church now called Lyn, on the East side of Lough Ennell (barony of Fartullagh,) Co. Westmeath, whom they might well have desired, afterwards, for their Abbot. (See p. 23 *sup.*)

At A.D. 867 of the Annals we find the entry, "Flann, son of Ferchar, Abbot of Lann Leire, and *aconomus* [or "*bursar*," literally "houseman,"] of Armagh, died." Thus, within about forty years of the date of the conflict for the coarbship abovementioned, we find an *Abbot of "Leire"* holding an office of high trust in Armagh. But, moreover, it is worth observing, that both the office of Abbot, and other situations at Lann Leire, and the office of *aconomus* and other kindred positions at Armagh, were in this age held hereditarily, as appears obvious from various entries in the Annals; and it seems hardly less probable,

that it was one and the same family which was in possession of the right of succession in both cases. This statement appears to derive sufficient foundation from the entries that follow :—

- "A.D. 660. *S. Tomene, son of Ronan, bishop of Armagh, died.*
 "A.D. 729. *Suibhne, son of Cronmael, son of Ronan, bishop of Armagh, died.*
 "A.D. 771. *Feardachrioch, Abbot of Armagh, son of Suibhne, son of Ronan, son of Cronmael, died.*
 "A.D. 779. *Cearnach, son of Suibhne, prior of Armagh, died.* [He is in the *Annals of Ulster* called *aconomus*, i.e., according to O'Donovan, 'house-steward,' of Armagh. R.K.]
 "A.D. 791. *Hoey, son of Cearnach, aconomus of Armagh, died.*
 "A.D. 812. *Cumugach, son of Cearnach, aconomus of Armagh, died.*
 "A.D. 841. *Murray, son of Cearnach, aconomus of Armagh, died.*
 "A.D. 843. *Gormghal, son of Murray, bishop and anchorite of Lann Leire, died.*
 "A.D. 848. *Fearchair, son of Murray, Abbot of Lann Leire, died.*
 "A.D. 867. *Flann, son of Fearchair, Abbot of Lann Leire and aconomus of Armagh, died.*
 "A.D. 919. *Cearnach, son of Flann, Abbot of Lann Leire, died.*"

A.C. 830. "Armagh plundered for the first time. Thrice in one month was Armagh plundered by the Foreigners; [i.e. the Danes,] it having never before, until this date, been plundered by any people of an exten race."

A.C. 832. "Airtiri, son of Conor, Abbot of Armagh, died. He was brother to the king of Oriel."

A.C. 833. "Owen Mainistreach, abbot of Armagh and Clonard, died."

A.C. 834. "A change of Abbots in Armagh, viz. Forannan of Rath-mic-Malais being substituted for Diarmaid Ua Tierney."

A.C. 835. "The oratory of Kildare, with Forannan, Abbot of Armagh, and the Congregation of Patrick in it, was attacked with arms, and taken violent possession of, by Felimy, son of Crivhan; and the clergy were made prisoners, and forced to submission by him . . . Diarmaid made a journey to Connaught with the Law of Patrick."

We have already seen, (p. 32, above,) that the Ulster Annals have in this place the statement, that Dermot, or Diarmaid, went to Connaught "with the Law and insignia of Patrick," These included, no doubt, the shrines taken on a similar expedition to Connaught, by Artri, A.D. 817. From the three last entries it would seem, that on the death of Owen Mainistreach, Diarmaid Ua Tierney (cousin, perhaps, to the Abbot whose obit is given at 808,) was appointed his successor, partly at least by the influence of the same party who had supported Bishop Artri. By the influence of an opposing party, however, Forannan was presently substituted in his stead. But Diarmaid, having secured possession of the Shrine of Patrick after Artri's death, lost no time, when deposed at Armagh, in turning it to some account by paying a visit to Connaught, where such a credential would naturally obtain him a kind reception, as the successor of Artri. Forannan, meanwhile, made, in like manner, a journey towards the south, to secure his interests in that quarter: but met with a rough handling from the king of Munster, who attacked him and his clergy at Kildare, took them prisoners in a church there, and forced them to submission. But how came the king of Munster to set upon them at Kildare in *Leinster*? This king, Felimy mac Crivhan, we have seen, had cooperated, A.D. 822, with Bishop Artri of Armagh, in establishing the levying of "*Patrick's Tribute*" in Munster: and his hostility to Forannan, would seem therefore to have been based on personal grounds: Felimy resisting probably his appointment to the coarbship, and supporting his rival, Diarmaid Ua Tierney. Perhaps Forannan on this occasion had visited some parts of Munster with his clerical associates, and received a number of cows, and such other offerings as were collected on circuits of that kind; and that Felimy, not wishing his kingdom to pay this tribute to a prelate whose authority he rejected, had pursued Forannan and his party to Kildare, and there obliged them to refund, and leave their booty behind. This would explain the *reducing of the clergy to submission* abovementioned, i.e. forcing the Congregation of Patrick to resign the "dues" which they had collected for their church by Forannan's authority.

Keating, however, (cited by Lanigan iii. 273,) "relates that Feidlim [or Felimy mac Crivhan,] being provoked by certain proceedings of some of the more northern people of Ireland, laid waste the country extending from Birr [King's Co.] to Tarah [Co. Meath,] thus while the common enemy was in their country, the unhappy Irish were destroying each other." For the Danes were at this time engaged at ferocious onslaughts on the Irish, and especially on such places and persons as were peculiarly dedicated to the service of religion.

A.C. 838. "A[nother] change of Abbots [takes place] in Armagh, Diarmaid Ua Tierney [being reinstated again] instead of Forannan of Rath-mic-Malais."

A.C. 843. "Forannan, primate of Armagh, [was] taken prisoner by the foreigners [i.e. the Danes,] in Cloncowardy, with his relics, [missionaries. [See p. 33. *sup.*] and with his people; and was taken to their ships at Limerick."

Forannan, although here called *primate* by the *Four Masters*, is, in the older Annals of Ulster, and in those of Clonmacnoise, styled simply *Abbot of Armagh*. The situation of Cloncowardy is now unknown.

A.C. 849. "A royal conference [was held] in Armagh, between Maelachlainn son of Muireney, [king of Ireland,] attended by the nobles of Leath Cuinn, [or the Northern Half of Ireland,] and Madudhan, with the nobles of Conor's province, [or Ulidia,] Diarmaid and Fethgna with the Congregations of Patrick with them, and Sorley, i.e. of Innedninen [church, near Slane, Co. Meath,] with the clergy of Meath."

This royal conference at Armagh had for one object, perhaps, (if not the principal one,) the settling of the succession to the coarbship, there being present at it two rival "primates," and two "*Congregations of Patrick*:" whereas the *Congregation of Patrick*, usually, was, it would seem, as essentially *one body*, as the *Cathedral Chapter* of a later age.

A.C. 851. "Two Coarbs of Patrick, viz. Forannan, Scribe, Bishop, and Anchorite, and Diarmaid, the wisest and best learned man in all Europe, died."

A.C. 857. "A great army was led by Aylave and Ivor, and by Carrol lord of Ossory, into Meath. A royal conference of the nobles of Ireland was held [afterwards,] at Rathugh-mic-Bric, [Rahugh, Co. Westmeath,] by king Maelachlainn, with [the cooperation, or 'under the auspices,' of] Fethna, Coarb of Patrick, and of Snairleach, [or, Sorley,] Coarb of Finnian, for the purpose of establishing peace and harmony among the men of Ireland. And on this occasion Carrol, lord of Ossory, gave the king of Ireland the full award of the Coarbs of Patrick and Finnian, after [the same] Carrol had been forty nights in Ereros, and the son of the king of Scandinavia with him for the first part of the time, devastating Meath. Upon their inducing the king of Ossory to be in league with Leath Chuinn, Maelgualai, son of Donnghaile, king of Munster, then gave in his adhesion [also] to their league."

The Coarb of Finnian (mentioned in this passage,) was the Abbot of Clonard, the most influential ecclesiastic in the kingdom of Meath. Ereros was probably the place now called *Oris*, Co. Westmeath.

A.C. 861. "Maolpatrick, son of Fionchu, bishop and scribe, anchorite, and intended Abbot of Armagh, died."

The phrase "*adhbhar abbadh*," (*au-woor abba*,) here translated 'intended abbot,' signifies properly 'material for an abbot,' or (to use a popular expression) '*themakings* of an abbot.' Such a title was applied, not, it would seem, to the immediate successor in prospect to the dignity, (he being styled rather, *Tanist-Abbot*,) but to all those who were regarded as having a claim to the right of succession in their turn, a prospect of being appointed Coarbs, in case of surviving those who stood above them on the list of similar expectants. Thus, if the eldest of three brothers were actual Coarb, the second might be *Tanist-abbot*, and the third, and the sons of the first, and possibly even others, "intended abbots."

So, the Coarb Awley dying in A.D. 1049, left two sons, Maelisa and Donnell, who were "intended abbots," and did ultimately succeed to the office of *Abbot of Armagh*, each in his turn. But Awley's immediate successor was Dubhdaleithe III. son to his predecessor Maolmuire. After Dubhdaleithe, came, first Cumusgach, then Maelisa, and after him Donnell, during whose coarbship we read of the death of "Hugh, son of Dubhdaleithe, intended Coarb of Patrick, [who was also] Vice-Erenach of Armagh." Now it seems obvious, from the use of the expression *adhbhar abbadh* at A.D. 861, that the same kind of hereditary succession according to the course of tanistry, of which an example has just been given from the 12th century, prevailed also in the ninth; (as indeed there can be little doubt that a similar principle was more or less acted on from a much earlier time;) although Colgan and others, from the words of St. Bernard quoted at p. 23, *sup.*, conclude, that such a mode of hereditary succession at Armagh was first introduced on the death of the Coarb Maelbrigid in A.D. 925, and that from thence, or thereabouts, are to be reckoned the two hundred years mentioned by Bernard, ending with the death of Primate Kellagh in 1129, (See the *Tr. Th.* p. 301, *Col. 2.*) The entry now commented on makes it, however, plain, that at least 68 years must be added to Bernards 200, if they be reckoned backwards from the date A.D. 1129, assigned by Colgan.

The same entry is one of those which might well have afforded a useful subject of study to such writers as Ware &c., who fancied that our old Annalists paid little or no attention to the proper difference between *bishops* and *abbots*. Maelpatrick, here mentioned, was a bishop,—a bishop, no doubt, of *Armagh*;—but he was also a successor in prospect to the *Abbacy* there; a successor such as there could not exist to a bishoprick, in a church where any sort of *canonical* order was observed. In such a church there might be appointed a coadjutor suffragan to the bishop, holding a position somewhat analogous to that of the *Tanist-Abbot*. But to have others again holding, with regard to such a bishop and his suffragan, a position similar to that occupied by the *adhbhar abbadh* towards the Abbot and his Tanist, was what no regular church law could allow.

A.C. 867. "Flann, son of Fearchair, Abbot of Lann Leire, and *æconomus* [or, 'house-steward'] of Armagh, died . . . Armagh was plundered and burned, with all its oratories, by Aylave [the Norwegian.] Ten hundred was the number of those strangled and otherwise slain, [on this occasion,] besides the carrying away by the invaders of all such property and substance as they found in the place."

A.C. 872. "Fethgna, i.e. [the son] of Naghten, Coarb of Patrick, Head of the piety of all Ireland, died."

In the Annals of Ulster he is called "Fachtna, *bishop*, heir of Patrick, Head of the religion of [i.e. a 'chief leader in every pious and devout practice throughout'] all Ireland."

A.C. 876. "Maelcova, son of Cronnmael, Abbot of Armagh, was taken prisoner by the Foreigners of Strangford Lough, [Co. Down,] as was also the Lector, viz. Mochta. . . Ainmire, Abbot of Armagh for the space of nine months, died; and he was a priest (*sagart*) for thirty years previously to that time."

This appears to be so remarked upon, as being an unusually long time for a person to be in priest's orders before becoming abbot. Supposing, then, half the time, (i.e. 15 years,) to have been the average period, and men to have been ordained priests at about 24 or 25, it would follow, that the average age of the Coarbs at the time of their accession, in these days, was about 40 years.

A.C. 880. "Casey, son of Rovartach, [or, of Roarty,] Abbot of Armagh, died,"

A.C. 885. "Maelcova, son of Cronnmael, Abbot of Armagh, died at an advanced age. He was of the family of Kilmore."

It seems, therefore, that he must have escaped from the hands of the Danes, who took him prisoner in A.D. 876. It appears also, from a comparison of the last three entries, that there must have been at this time two cotemporary Abbots: whether it was that Casey and Maelcova were rival dignitaries, or that both may have been, under peculiar circumstances, lawfully appointed. Casey, e.g. may have been Vice-Abbot, and appointed to act as Abbot when Maelcova was taken prisoner by the Danes.

A.C. 889. "A disturbance and riot [occurred] at Armagh, just about Whitsuntide, between the men of Tyrone and the Ulidians [or Co. Down people:] i.e. between Aitteidh, son of Lyni, and Flaherty, son of Murphy; until Maelbrighe, Coarb of Patrick, in the end found means to separate them. Maelbrighe exacted afterwards a tribute [as a fine] for the violation of Patrick's protection, from the *Fifth of Ere*, i.e. from the Province of Ulidia, besides taking hostages from them [of that country,] viz. 210 *cumhals*; four also of the Ulidians to be hanged, and a like number of the Tyrone people . . . Mochta, Fethgna's fosterson, Bishop, anchorite, and scribe of Armagh, died."

A *cumhal* originally denoted a bondmaid, which was estimated as of the value of three cows: but it afterwards was used to denote three cows, or any thing estimated as of that value. *O'Donovan*.

A.C. 890. "Armagh ravaged by Gluniarainn and the Foreigners of Dublin, who carried away 710 persons into captivity, after having destroyed a part of the church, and demolished the oratory; whereupon it was said,

"Pity, O St. Patrick, that thy prayers did not stay

"The Foreigners with their axes from striking thine oratory."

"Maelathgen, [i.e. Muligan, or Milliken], bishop of Armagh, died [this year.]"

On the above passage Dr. O'Donovan observes, that the ancient Irish oratories [or prayer-houses,] were sometimes of wood, and sometimes of stone: and that the allusion to the axes here might suggest that the oratory at Armagh was of wood, unless it mean that the axes were employed to break open the door, &c.

A.C. 892. "Casey, son of Fergus, Tanist-Abbot of Armagh, a young man of pious disposition, died."

The year 892 of the 4 M. corresponds to 896 of the Annals of Ulster, at which occurs this entry—"A.D. 896. Cahasach, mac Fergusa, heyre to the abbacy of Ardmach, a religious youth, enters into rest." (The same entry is repeated by the 4 M. at A.D. 897.)

A.C. 898. "Kellach, son of Cyrus, Anchorite and Bishop of Armagh, died."

A.C. 906. "Maelbrighe, son of Tornan, made a journey into Munster, for the release of a pilgrim belonging to the Britons."

This pilgrim from Wales had, it would seem, visited Ireland for purposes of devotion, but was made prisoner by some lawless chieftain of the south: whereupon Maelbrighe, having been perhaps appealed to by the pilgrim's friends, as the leading ecclesiastic of Ireland, undertook this errand of mercy, using his high influence in a manner more worthy of the sacred cause represented in his person, than some of his predecessors appear to have done.

A.C. 912. "Maelchiarain, son of Eoghagan, Abbot of Clones, and Mucknoe [i.e. near Castleblaney] died. He was a fosterson of Fethgna's."

In the *Annals of Ulster* (*Cod. Clar.*) this entry reads thus. "A.D. 914 [al. 915.] Maelchiarain, mac Eochagain, prince of Clonauis, and Bishop of Ardmach, in the 70th year of his age, dies in Christ." Perhaps, however, it should be, "prince of Clonauis [i.e. Clones,] and fosterson to Fethgna, Bishop of Ardmach," the error originating in a mistake of the transcriber.

A.C. 922. "Murray, son of Donnell, Abbot of Monasterboice, Head of the counsel [i.e. chief counsellor] of all the men of Bregia, [i.e. the country between the Boyne and the Liffey, north of Dublin,] lay and ecclesiastical, and Steward of Patrick's family from Sleive Fuaid to Leinster, died."

Sleive Fuaid was the ancient name of the range of mountains about Newtownhamilton, south of Armagh. In the *Annals of Ulster* the Murray here mentioned is called "Tanist-Abbot of Armagh, *ard-maor* [or 'high-steward'] of the O'Neills of the south, [or men of Meath,] and Coarb of Boice."

A.C. 924. "Mochta, Bishop of the Ua Neill, [or O'Neill race,] and Priest of Armagh, and Murray, son of Donnell, Tanist-Abbot of Armagh, died."

The curious designation here applied to Mochta seems to illustrate the odd notions of episcopacy prevalent among the Irish Christians of those ages. Mochta, though a bishop, officiated *as priest only* in Armagh; episcopal services being rendered them of this place apparently by a different individual, while Mochta performed the same for the O'Neills, being *the bishop, not of a territory, but of a clan*. The designation in question, however, though given also in the copy of the *Ulster Annals* in the British Museum, is not found in the Irish as quoted by Dr. Petrie.

In giving the obit of Murray, the Tanist-Abbot of Armagh, here, the 4 Masters make him a different person from Murray, the Abbot of Monasterboice named in the preceding entry, while the *Annals of Ulster*, as we have seen, make both identical, which they are apparently correct in doing. (See Petrie's *Round Towers*, p. 406.)

A.C. 925. "Maelbrighde, son of Tornan, Coarb of Patrick, and of Columkille, and of Adamnan, Head of the piety of all Ere, [i.e. Ireland,] and of the better part of Europe, died after a choice [i.e. 'exemplary'] old age."

Then follow some lines mentioning the date of his death, in which he is called "Maelbrighde, Abbot of Armagh, *the top of Europe*."

A.C. 927. "Tuathal, son of Enacan, Bishop of Duleek and Luak, and Steward of the family of Patrick, died Kencorach, son of Maelwee, Abbot and Bishop of Derry-Calgy, [i.e. Derry,] and Steward of Adamnan's Law, [died]."

Steward of the family of Patrick means, according to Dr. O'Donovan, *Proctor of Armagh*. In the old translation of the *Annals of Ulster*, this Tuathal, or Toole, is called "Proctor to Patrick's men from the mountain southerly," and in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, as translated in 1627 by Magheoghegan, "Sergeant of St. Patrick." He appears to have been the authorised receiver of the tribute and offerings available for the support of the Armagh clergy from the inhabitants of the district committed to his charge. The Abbot and Bishop of Derry here named would seem to have discharged a similar office in connection with St. Adamnan's (or Euzan's) tribute, i.e. the offerings presented, in memory of St. Adamnan, to the Abbot of Raphoe, (see p. 59 *sup.*) for the support of his church and clergy. But why should the Abbot and Bishop of Derry be *receiver for a place of less distinction*? Why should he be Steward for the Abbot of Raphoe? - Perhaps because the Abbot of Raphoe had been for some time no other than the Coarb of Patrick at Armagh, the famous Abbot Maelbrighde abovementioned holding not only those two offices, but, also, the abbacy of Derry, till his death in 925. It was apparently on Maelbrighde's death that Kencorach, already perhaps Bishop of Derry, and Steward of Raphoe, was promoted to the abbacy of the former place.

A.C. 936. "Two Coarbs of Patrick, [departed this life:] viz. Joseph, Scribe, Bishop, and Anchorite, the one that was wisest among the Gael, [i.e. the Irish,] and Maelpatrick, son of Maeluille, bishop and wise-man. Five months had he been in the abbacy when he died."

A.C. 937. "The *Canoin Phadrug* was covered by Donogh, son of Flann, king of Ireland." (See p. 84 *sup.*)

A.C. 940. "Dun-leith-ghlaise [i.e. Downpatrick,] was plundered by the son of Raynall and his foreigners. God and Patrick soon avenged on him this deed. For there came [other] foreigners from beyond sea, who attacked them [the son of Raynall &c.] on their island, [in Strangford Lough,] so that the son of Raynall, their chief, had to make his escape to the main land. He was killed by Maduan, king of Ulidia, in revenge of Patrick, before the end of a week after the plundering."

A.C. 945. "The full of the [Bell called the] *Fionnfaidheach* of silver [was given] by the Kinel-Owen [or Tyrone people,] for the blessing of Patrick and his Coarb at that time, viz. Joseph." (See p. 32 *sup.*)

The name Joseph is improperly added here, the person who bore it, and his successor in the coarbahip, having both died in 936, and the one who was now Coarb being Casey, son of Doiligen, who died in 957: unless the entry may have been accidentally displaced, and a wrong number inserted in marking the year.

A.C. 948. "Finnachta, son of Eochtighern, Bishop, Scribe, and Abbot of Louth, and Steward of Patrick's family from the mountain southward, died."

A.C. 957. "Casey, viz. of Drumhorry, son of Doiligen, Coarb of Patrick, distinguished *Bishop of the Irish*, died."

Dr. O'Donovan here translates the words, *sui espuiice*, "the most distinguished bishop;" and adds the following note on the passage. "The death of this Cathasach [or Casey R.K.] is entered in the *Annals of Ulster* at the year 956, (but the true year is 957,) thus: 'Cahasach mac Duilgen of Drumthorra, Coarb of Patrick, and an excellent [recte, the most excellent] bushop of all the Irish, in Christo quievit.' *Cod. Clarend. tom. 49*." The translation, however, of the *Ulster Annals*, here quoted by Dr. O'Donovan from the Clarendon MS., was made by an able Irish scholar, and is, in the passage just cited, perfectly correct. The learned Doctor, in his attempt to correct it, by substituting the words, "the most excellent," for, "an excellent," is but recommending the introduction of a positive error into the translation; the temptation to do so being found in a desire to accommodate such passages to the almost universally received misconceptions, relative to our early church history, which it is the object of this Memoir to correct. See page 16, above, at the top, and the note there. Of the palpable historical mistakes into which a tendency of the kind referred to may mislead a writer, a specimen is to be found in the case of Bp. Hoey O'Kelly, as mentioned in the *Annals* at A.D. 1140, and as dealt with by Dr. O'Donovan, in his translation there. According to the *Annals*, Hoey O'Kelly was "a distinguished bishop of all Ireland." Not seeing what sense could be attached to such an expression, according to any ordinary ideas of the nature of church discipline as now or heretofore existing, Dr. O'Donovan suggests the false rendering abovementioned, and thus describes this Hoey O'Kelly as the most distinguished bishop of all Ireland, at the very time when the famous Malachy O'Morgair was in the height of his glory, as a light and ornament of the Irish church; he having been made, according to the *Four Masters*, Bishop of Connor in A.D. 1124, and Coarb of Patrick, "by request of the clergy of Ireland," in 1132; and although he resigned, according to the same authority, the latter office in 1136, yet was he afterwards, as Bishop of Down, and Pope's Legate for all Ireland, "the most distinguished bishop," decidedly, in his native land. And if any other could be compared with him in character, it would be Gelasius, who succeeded him in the primacy, rather than Hoey O'Kelly of Meath.

A.C. 965. "A change of Abbots [takes place] in Armagh, viz. Dubhdalethe being substituted for Murray of Slieve Gullion."

A.C. 966. "Murray, son of Fergus, Coarb of Patrick, died. Casey, son of Murchadan, bishop of Armagh, died."

Under this year occurs also the entry, "Erc Ua Suailen, *Bishop or Abbot* of Tallaght, [Co. Dublin,] died."

A.C. 973. "Dubhdaleithe, Coarb of Patrick, made a [visitation] circuit of Munster, and obtained his demand."

A.C. 980. "Conaing Ua Flannagain, Vice-Erenach of Armagh, died."

A.C. 985. "The Shrine of Patrick was carried off by Maelseachlainn [or Maelseachlainn, or Malachy the Great, king of Meath,] from Ardeo to Assy, [on the river Boyne, near Tarah, Co. Meath,] in consequence of the rebellion of the son of Cairelan. Peace was made afterwards between them, and Patrick's dues [riar] [submitted to] by Maelseachlainn, viz. the visitation of the men of Meath, both ecclesiastical and secular; a banquet [also] for every fort from Maelseachlainn himself, besides seven *cumhals*, and [in short] the whole tribute claimed in full. [See p. 32 *sup.* and the note at A.D. 889 above.] A great riot [occurred] in Armagh, on the Sunday before Lammas, between the men of Iveagh and the O'Niallans, wherein were slain a son of Traynor, son of Celechan, and several others."

By the arrangement here noticed, the Abbot of Armagh established his right to make visitation tours in Meath, and obtain refectons there, not only on the lands of ordinary lay proprietors and those of the church, but also at the royal castles belonging to Maelseachlainn himself. The value of the privilege so secured may be understood from the statement of Bishop Montgomery at p. 52 above, concerning such visitations, in the paragraph commencing "Theise censulas terra" &c.

A.C. 987. [*properly 988.*] "Dubhdaleithe, Coarb of Patrick, accepted the Coarbship of Columkille, at the desire [*literally, 'by the counsel'*] of the men of Ireland and Alba." [*i.e. Scotland.*]

This entry implies that Dubhdaleithe, already Abbot of Armagh, was appointed Abbot of Hy, or Icolmkille, and Derry, also; or, as Colgan has it, supreme moderator of the congregations under St. Columba's rule, (or of his foundation,) in Ireland and Scotland. Here, as elsewhere, the complete independence of the early Irish Church of any foreign control exhibits itself plainly; Dubhdaleithe receiving his appointment to the highest ecclesiastical offices connected with it "by desire of the men of Ireland," and not by gift of any foreign prelate.

A.C. 992. "Muirechan of Bodoney, [Co. Tyrone,] Coarb of Patrick, went on circuit in Tyrone; on which occasion he conferred the degree of King on Hugh, son of Donnell, in presence of the Congregation of Patrick: after which he made a great [visitation] circuit of the North of Ireland." (See pp. 32, 38, *sup.*)

A.C. 994. "Maolmair, son of Scannlan, Bishop of Armagh, died."

A.C. 995. "Armagh burned by lightning, and its houses, churches, *belfries*, and sacred grove, all destroyed. Never came there in Ére, since her first discovery, nor ever will come, to the judgment day, so dire a scourge: whereof it was said,

" 'Nine hundred years and ninety five, from Christ's nativity, so runs the account,

" 'To the conflagration that spared no quarter of the city of the noble son of Calprann, son of Otidh.' " (*i.e. St. Patrick.*)

N.B. The word *Oloictheacha*, here translated *belfries*, (*literally, bell-houses*), "is still the Irish name for the ancient Irish round towers in most parts of Ireland." *O'Donovan*. The exceedingly unfounded and foolish speculations advanced in various essays on the subject, before the publication of that one which, by an intelligent reference to Irish historical records, at once settled all reasonable doubts relative to their origin, (shewing them to have been erected in Christian times, and for Christian uses,) afford an excellent illustration of the ignorance and mistakes prevalent, even with very learned men, until the most recent times, in regard to matters of fact, and even such as had attracted no small interest, connected with the early history of Christianity in Ireland. Without presuming to compare for a moment the style of this rough *Memoir*, in any respect, with that of the beautiful and learned Essay of Dr. Petrie just alluded to, the writer is, notwithstanding, bold to think that in these pages will be found a hardly less important contribution, in their way, towards a right understanding of the ecclesiastical history of the period in which the round towers originated, and of which they form, in more ways, perhaps, than one, a not inappropriate symbol. The *sacred grove* abovementioned appears to have been that which was near the church or sanctuary. Many churches received names from such groves, as those of Derry, Kildare, &c.

A.C. 998. "Dubhdaleithe, son of Kellsach, Coarb of Patrick and Columkille, died the 2nd. of June in the 83rd. year of his age."

A.C. 1001. "Traynor, son of Celechan, Prior of Armagh, was killed. A change of Abbots [takes place] at Armagh, *viz.* Maolmair, son of Hoey, being substituted for Muirechan of Bodoney."

Dubhdaleithe II., it appears from the entries above, was made Abbot of Armagh, in the year (according to the 4 M.) 965, and acted as such in 973. In 988 he is represented as having become *Abbot of Derry and Iona*, holding the abbacy in each of those places, as is commonly supposed, (and as the notice of his death at A.D. 998 appears to suggest,) along with that of Armagh. Yet, during the same period, we find, at A.D. 992, above, Muirechan of Bodoney mentioned as Coarb of Patrick, and again, the same individual mentioned under the same title after the death of Dubhdaleithe, at A.D. 1001. Either, therefore, Muirechan could have been but Tanist-Abbot in A.D. 992, (or Vice-Abbot, perhaps, during the absence of Dubhdaleithe, who may have been then attending to the care of his other abbacies in Scotland or Ireland,) or else, which, however, appears less probable, Dubhdaleithe, on accepting the Coarbship of Columkille, must have resigned that of Patrick, and been succeeded by Muirechan, in or before A.D. 992.

A.C. 1008. "Hoey O'Flannagain, Erenach of the Fort of the Guests in Armagh, and of Clonfeacle, and one learned in Irish antiquarian lore, died."

The *Lis-acidheadh*, or 'Fort of the Guests,' or 'Stranger's Hospital,' in Armagh, contained, probably, the habitations assigned for the reception of such persons as did not belong to Armagh itself, but either were travelling through the place, or else came to reside there, for purposes connected with religion or study. In the Legends of St. Molua we read, that at the foundation of his Monastery of Clonfertmulloe in the King's County, in the latter end of the 6th century, "when the brethren of St. Molua were desirous to build a house for him on a beautiful spot, [chosen for the purpose,] he at once said to them:—'Christ is our Abbot. In receiving the stranger, we receive Him. On this spot, then, build the Stranger's House, (*domum hospitum*) and assign for its use of the best of your lands.' And so they accordingly did, and great was the attention paid, in that place of St. Molua's, to the stranger and the pilgrim." (Fleming's *Collectanea, Vit. S. Molua*, p. 374, cap. 30.)

A.C. 1004. "S. Aedh, Lector and Abbot of Trivet, [Co. Meath,] *bishop*, wise-man, and pilgrim, died, after a well-spent life, in Armagh."

In selecting the extracts from the *Four Masters* contained in these pages, it is no part of the writer's object to introduce all passages of interest bearing on the religious or civil history of Armagh, or containing notices of eminent persons who flourished in this place, but rather such (with few exceptions,) as bear more or less directly on the points to which the reader's attention has been directed in what precedes: as to do otherwise would swell our Essay beyond convenient limits. This notice of S. Aedh is introduced, chiefly, as illustrating, in connection with Armagh, the statement already made, (and of which the Annals contain illustrations numberless,) relative to the improbability of our ancient writers having confounded, or rather, to the certainty that they did not confound, in use, the titles of *abbot* and *bishop*. Here, as elsewhere, *Abbot* is applied in a *local*, *Bishop* in a *personal* connection. S. Aedh was *Abbot of Trivet*, but had no idea of being bishop of *any territory*, except as he might be "wise-man" &c. of the same, by dwelling, or being known, in it. His being called a pilgrim appears to arise from his having left his own place to reside at Armagh in his latter days, with a view to increased religious improvement. And this appears to be the occasion why mention so frequently occurs, in the Annals, of one individual or another "dying on his pilgrimage," at some place famous as a religious establishment, and connected, generally, with the memory of some distinguished saint: the person so spoken of having retired to such a place to end his life there in quietness, and surrounded by those from whose society and prayers he expected to derive most comfort and benefit in his declining days.

A.C. 1005. "Muirechan Bocht [or Muirechan the Needy,] from Bodoney, Coarb of Patrick, died. Seventy years old was he [at the time of his decease.]"

At this year the *Four Masters* have a notice of a great expedition undertaken by Brian Boru, (or, Brian, son of Kennedy, as he is more commonly styled by our Irish writers,) attended by forces from Leinster, Munster, Ossory, Meath, and Connaught, including a body of Danes from the south, into Tyrconnell, or Donegal, and Tyrone, with a view to obtaining hostages from the Kinel-Conaill and Kinel-Owen, or, in other words, extorting from them an admission of his claim to the sovereignty of all Ireland. Having passed through Connaught, Brian led these forces by Ballyshannon, (on the river Erne,) into Donegal, thence into the present Co. Antrim, crossing the river Bann near the old church of Camus Macosquin; thence into the Co. Down, and from that into Louth and Meath. From Castlekieran, near Kells, in Meath, where they arrived about Lammass, the forces under Brian dispersed, without having accomplished the chief object for which the expedition was undertaken.

This transaction, as recorded by the *Four Masters*, has no connection whatsoever with the history of the Primacy, and so

need not have been noticed here, were it not for an additional circumstance relating to it, which is mentioned in the *Ulster Annals*, viz., that the influence of the Coarb of Patrick was exerted, as they appear to say, for the purpose of bringing to a termination this military expedition of Brian's. Their statement is to the effect, that Brian and his army pursued their journey as far as "to Bealach Maoin, until they submitted to Patrick's reliques, [or as Dr. O'Donovan emends it, 'Patrick's clergy,'] and to his coarb Maelmuire mac Eochaa." *Bealach Maoin*, Dr. O'D. says, should be *Bealach Duin*, i.e. Castlekieran aforesaid. Thus it would seem that the Coarb Maelmuire, here mentioned, acted the part of a peacemaker, in using his influence to procure the disbanding of Brian's troops, with less of bloodshed than had been contemplated in their muster.

A.C. 1006. "Tuathal Ua Maoilmacha, a learned personage, and Coarb of Patrick in Munster, died. Murray, son of Creehan, resigned the coarbship of Columkille for the sake of God. The fair of Tailltin was renewed by Maelseachlainn, [king of Meath,] and Fearadonach was appointed to the coarbship of Columkille, by the determination of the men of Ireland, in that fair . . . Arvey, son of Cosgrach, Bishop, and Scribe of Armagh, died.

The Coarb of Patrick in Munster was probably the principal ecclesiastic, (episcopal, or other), of the Church of Cashel, of which St. Patrick was the founder, and which was situated in the civil metropolis of the Southern Half of Ireland. Cashel was not, however, yet made a regular archiepiscopal see, nor for a hundred years after. (See p. 15 *sup.*) Ware could find no mention of any Archbishop of Cashel between Cormac Mac Culinan, whose death occurred in 907 or 908, and Donald, or Donnell, O'Hene, whose obit is given by the Four Masters at A.D. 1098. (See pp. 15, 16. *sup.*) The election of a Coarb of Columkille, or Abbot of Derry, here noticed, again brings before our view the independence of the old Irish Church. On Murray's resignation "for God's sake," i.e. under the influence of some pious motive, his successor is appointed, not by any Bull from Rome, or "Apostolic Rescript," but "by the determination of the men of Ireland,"—by a conclusion arrived at in no foreign consistory, but in the great national Fair of Tailltin, or Teltown. The word *comhairle*, translated here, "determination," means literally "counsel," conference, consultation, or advice.

A.C. 1010. [properly, 1011.] "Murray, son of Creehan, Coarb of Columkille and Adamnan, a man of learning, a bishop, and a son of virginity, [i.e. one who remained in the virgin state,] Lector of Armagh, and intended (*adhbhar*) Coarb of Patrick, died, at the age of seventy-four, on the night of Saturday, the 5th of the Kalends of January, and was buried with honour and veneration in front of the altar in the great Church of Armagh."

A.C. 1011. [properly, 1012.] "Armagh visited by a fatal disorder, from All-Hallows to May-day, viz. swellings and cramps, whereof a large number of the Seniors and students died; among whom were, Keneeladh of the Sawal, Bishop, Anchorite, and Pilgrim; Maelbrighe Mac-an-Gowan, Lector of Armagh," &c.

The *Sawal*, *Saval*, or *Saul*, was a Church at Armagh, which is repeatedly mentioned in the Irish Annals. The Irish word *Sabhal* means a "Granary;" and the first church so called was that of Saul in the Co. Down, founded by St. Patrick; the original place of worship in which was, probably, at first but a granary, until given by its owner to St. Patrick, for application to a religious use.

A.C. 1012. "Conaille [Co. Louth,] was fearfully ravaged by Maelseachlainn, in revenge for the profanation of Patrick's *Fionnfaidheach*, and the breaking of the *Bachall-Phatraic* [or Crosier of St. Patrick,] by the Conaille people, i.e. by the sons of Cucuailne."

At the next year we are given, by the Four Masters, an account of the famous battle of Clontarf, between the Danes and Irish, of which an abridged summary, as the matter has some connection with our subject in this Memoir, is here subjoined.

A.C. 1013. "An expedition was led against Dublin, by Brian, son of Kennedy, son of Lorcan, king of Ireland, and Maelseachlainn, [pronounced, *Melaghtin*, and called also, Malachy,] son of Donnell, king of Tara. The foreigners of Western Europe assembled against Brian and Maelseachlainn: and they had with them ten hundred men in coats of mail. A battle ensues between them at Clontarf, just on the Friday before Easter, so spirited, fierce, violent, vengeful, and furious, that the like of it was no where to be met with in those times. In that battle fell Brian, son of Kennedy, chief king of Ireland . . . Murrogh, son of Brian, Royal heir of Ireland . . . Conaing, son of Duncan, brother's son to Brian," &c.

"Maolmuire, son of Hoey, Coarb of Patrick, proceeded with the seniors and relics (*miondaibh*) to Sord-Columkille, [i.e. Swords,] from whence they brought the body of Brian, king of Ireland, and the body of Murrogh, his son, and the head of Conaing, and the head of Mohla. And there were Maolmuire and his Congregation keeping their watch by the bodies, with great honor and veneration, and they were buried afterwards at Armagh in a new tomb." [i.e. in some part, it is to be supposed, of the present Cathedral Church-yard. R.K.]

A.C. 1015 [properly, 1016.] "Flannagan, son of Conaing, Vice-Erenach of Armagh, and Maurice, Erenach of the *Lis-aidheadh* [there,] died." [For the *Lis-aidheadh*, *prond. Lis-ay-oo*, see at A.C. 1003 above.]

A.C. 1020. "Armagh burned, with all the Rath, [i.e. fortified enclosure,] without the saving of one house in it, the Manuscript-House alone excepted. Many houses were burned in the outer parts of the city also. And the Great *Duleek* [i.e. the principal Stone Church,] was burned; and the *Clogach*, [i.e. 'Belfry,' viz. 'Round Tower,'] with the Bells, and the *Duleek-na-Toe*, [i.e. 'the Stone Church of Election,' where, probably, the Abbots were elected,] and the *Sabhal Duleek*, and the old Preachers' Chair, and the Abbots' Chariot, and the Students' books that were in their houses, with much gold and silver, and other precious stores beside. Kildare burned," &c.

"The Shrine of Patrick, and Patrick's *Fionnfaidheach*, [See p. 33. *sup.*] were outrageously carried off by freebooters, and by O'Heddy, and people from Lower Iveagh, who took with them also 700 head of cows.

"Maolmuire, son of Hoey, Coarb of Patrick, Head of all the clergy of Northwestern Europe, and flood of the dignity of the western world, eminent among the wise and learned, died, the 3rd day of the month of June, just on the Friday before Whitsunday, and Awley [was appointed] to the Coarbship of Patrick by the choice of the lay people and of the church."

In mentioning the destruction of Armagh by fire, as above described, the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (A.D. 1018,) specify concerning the churches, &c., which suffered from the conflagration, and they "were burnt by the Danes."

A.C. 1021. "Awley, Coarb of Patrick, journeyed into Munster for the first time, and made a great circuit thereof."

A.C. 1022. "Maoileachlainn Mor, [or, Malachy the Great,] son of Donnell, son of Donogh, Pillar of the Dignity and Rank of the western world, died in Cro-Inis in Lough Ennell, after that he had been 43 years king over Ireland (according to the *Book of Clonmacnoise*, viz. including the reign of Brian, son of Kennedy, in the reckoning,) at the close of nine years from the battle of Clontarf, in the 73 year of his age, the Fourth of the Nones of September [i.e. Sept. 2nd.] on Sunday precisely, after intense penance for his sins and transgressions, after the reception of the Body of Christ, and his Blood, and after having been anointed by the hands of Awley, Coarb of Patrick. For he, and the Coarb of Columkille, [or Abbot of Derry,] and the Coarb of Kiaran, [or Abbot of Clonmacnoise,] and most of the chief Seniors of Ireland, were in attendance there, and they chanted masses, and hymns, psalms, and canticles, for his soul's welfare."

There is every reason for believing, with Colgan, (*Tr. Th.* p. 302,) that the Coarb Awley was one of the eight married and unordained men whom St. Bernard speaks of, (see p. 23 *sup.*) as having occupied the position of chief prelate of Armagh before Celsus, or Kellach. And the circumstance of the rite of *Unction* being administered by his hand to the dying Monarch of Ireland, seems to illustrate more curiously than even Bernard's description, the laxity of discipline, and the strange views of canonical church order, admitted among the Irish of that age. Colgan, attempting to evade the difficulty connected with the performance of such a service by a layman, says—"I answer, that Awley never administered to king Malachy the sacrament of Extreme Unction, but that Malachy only was anointed in his hands." The last three words are certainly a literal, but yet not the most proper, translation of the corresponding expression in the *Four Masters*; the correct rendering being that above given, 'by the hands,' which is also the rendering given in the version of that honest and good Irish Scholar, Dr. O'Donovan. Colgan's translation involves the absurdity of supposing, that the Annalists took pains to record who it was that held, or supported, the king, while receiving the Rite, but did not care to mention what ecclesiastic, or other functionary, administered it to him. It is better, however, to take history as it stands, than to endeavour to twist its narratives into such forms as will best tally with our preconceived fancies.

Lough Ennell, where king Malachy died, lies to the southwest of Mullingar, Co. Westmeath : and the island Croinis, (i.e. Hut-island,) which is situated in the north-west of it, and belongs to the parish of Dysart, still retains the same name in Irish, but is called, sometimes, 'Cormorant Island,' by English speakers. The Fort of Dunnaskiath, which was this king's seat, consisted of several concentric entrenchments or circumvallations, in a position on the brink of the lake opposite to the island aforesaid.

A.C. 1030. "The *Bachall Isa* was profaned [in a case] relating to three horses, and the person who profaned it was killed before the expiration of nine days." (See p. 33. *sup.*)

A.C. 1032. "Maoltuile, Bishop of Armagh, died."

In the *Ulster Annals* (Cod. Clarend. tom. 49,) we have, instead of this entry, the following one,—

A.D. 1032. "Maoltuile, bishop of Ardmach, in Christo quievit. Hugh O'Foiri took the bishoprick in hand."

A.C. 1033. "The Shrine of Peter and Paul emitted blood on Patrick's altar in Armagh, in the presence of all the people generally."

This extract, though not particularly interesting in connection with our general subject, is introduced as a short illustration of the ideas concerning miracles, &c., at that time prevalent in Armagh.

A.C. 1034. "Maonia O'Hutton, Lector of Kells, was drowned on his way from Scotland, with Columkille's Bed, and three of Patrick's relics, and thirty people beside, that were with him."

A.C. 1039. "Murray, son of Flannagan, Vice-erenach of Armagh, died."

A.C. 1044. "A predatory excursion was made by Niall, son of Maeleachlainn, lord of Aileach, into Omeath and Cooley, whence he brought away 1200 cows, and led numbers into captivity, to revenge the profaning of the *Clog-an-eadhachta*. Another predatory excursion was made by Murtogh O'Neill into Mourne, whence he brought away a cattle spoil and prisoners, in revenge for the profanation of the same Bell. O'Hea, lord of Hy-Fiachrach of Ardstraw was killed by the son of Aralt; and the shrine of Patrick was burned by him also." (See p. 41, *sup.*)

A.C. 1049. "Awley, Coarb of Patrick, died. And Dubh-da-leithe, son of Maolmuire, son of Hoey, succeeded to his place, from the Lectorship, on the day of Awley's death. And Hugh O'Forrey succeeded to the Lectorship."

This extract very distinctly informs us of the relative importance and rank at that time associated with the three offices referred to in it, at Armagh; exhibiting the Bishop as being then considered at least two degrees inferior to the Abbot. For on the death of Abbot Awley, the *Fearleighinn*, or Lector (see pp. 27, 28, *sup.*) was raised to the Abbacy, and the Bishop to the Lectorship which so fell vacant. (See at A.D. 1032, *above.*)

And in this passage again are we reminded, in another way, also, of the complete independence of the Irish Church of any foreign control in matters ecclesiastical, at the period to which it relates. We have indeed a strong contrast presented to us between the promptness with which, in those days, the Tanist-Abbot succeeded immediately to his predecessor, even *on the day of his death*, "by choice of the laypeople and and Church" of Ireland, and the protracted delays and almost interminable proceedings, which in after times, through the intrigues of English and Italian potentates, and their courtiers, interrupted, sometimes for years together, the succession to the Primacy, and to other Irish bishoprics, after their settlement under the influence of the Church of Rome.

A.C. 1050. "Dubhdaleithe, Coarb of Patrick, [went] on a Visitation tour in Tyrone, and brought away 300 cows from them [of that country]" (p. 32, *sup.*)

A.C. 1052. "Murray O'Shinkwin, Steward of Patrick in Munster, died. Gilla-Patrick, son of Donnell, Prior of Armagh, died."

In the *Annals of Ulster*, Gilla-Patrick is called *Secnap*, which means *Vice-Abbot*, of Armagh. At A.D. 1055, the same Annals have a curious entry, omitted by the *Four Masters*, on the principle already alluded to, at p. 15, *sup. viz* :—

A.D. 1055. "The battle of Mortartai by Duvdalehe, Coarb of Patrick, upon Loingsach O'Maelechlainn's sonn, viz., Coarb of Finnen [and Colum Cille, wherein many were killed]." (*Ann. Ul., Cod. Clarend., tom. 49.*)

The bracketed portion is so distinguished from the rest in Dr. O'Donovan's note, from which the extract is here copied, but he does not explain what is implied by such bracketing. From the passage, as it stands, it appears that this Abbot of Armagh made war on the cotemporary Abbot of Clonard, who was also, it would seem, Abbot of Derry, and led his men out to battle against him, whereon a fight ensued between the two parties, in which many were killed. The occasion of the quarrel is not mentioned, but it related probably to some disputed property belonging to one or other of the abbeys or abbacies concerned. It is, however, to be remarked, that the Annals do not contain at this period any mention of an Abbot of Derry as holding also the Abbacy of Clonard. The Abbot of Derry in 1055 would seem to have been "Rovartach, son of Ferdonach, Coarb of Columkille and Adamnan," who died in A.D. 1057; while the Abbot of Clonard of the same period would appear to have been either "Tuathal O'Follawin, Coarb of Finnen of Clonard," who died in that year, 1055, or, more probably, "Tiernach Boirkagh, chief *annchara* of Ireland, anchorite, and Coarb of Finnen," who died in 1061, according to the authority of the *Four Masters*. The ecclesiastic with whom Dubhdaleithe fought, was therefore, probably, Coarb of St. Finnian, but not of St. Columkille.

A.C. 1056. "Hugh O'Forrey, Arch-Lector [*ard-fearleighinn*, i.e. eminent or dignified scholastic,] and distinguished bishop of Armagh, died the Fourteenth of the Calends of July, in the 75th year of his age."

A.C. 1061. "Conaing, Vice-Erenach of Armagh, died."

In the old Translation of the Annals of Ulster, already so often referred to, he is called "Conaing mac Innavaire *Sub-Airchinneach* of Armagh;" which seems a very suitable rendering of the word (*Fos-airchindeach*,) used in the original.

A.C. 1064. Dubhdaleithe, son of Maolmuire, Coarb of Patrick, died after exemplary [*literally*, "choice,"] penitence, the 1st day of September, and Maelisa, son of Awley, succeeded to the abbacy."

Pilgrimages to Rome, of which we find no examples in the earlier Centuries of the Annals, begin from the Tenth onward to be rather common. One of the most remarkable examples of the kind is thus noticed in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*. (It refers, as the reader will see, to a son of the famous prince, Brian Boru :)—

"A.D. 1063. Donnogh mac Bryan Borowe was king, as some say, and was soon deposed again, and went to Rome to do penance, because he had a hand in the killing of his own brother Teig mac Bryan. He brought the crown of Ireland with him thither, which remained with the Popes until Pope Adrian gave the same to Henry the Second, that conquered Ireland. Donnogh mac Bryan died in pilgrimage in the abbey of St. Stephen the protomartyr."

A.C. 1065. "Maelisa, son of Awley, Coarb of Patrick, [went] on a visitation circuit in Munster for the first time, and received a full visitation tribute, both of *screebails* and offerings." (See p. 32 *sup.*)

A.C. 1069. "Flannagan, son of Hugh, Vice-Erenach of Armagh, died."

A.C. 1070. "Maelbrighde, son of Casey, Vice-Erenach of Armagh, died."

A.C. 1074. "Armagh burned, on the Tuesday after May-day, with all its Churches and Bells, both Rath and Trians," [i.e. both enclosure and external buildings, 'liberties,' or streets beyond the Rath.]

Armagh at this period consisted of the *Rath* and *three Trians*, the latter word being applied, generally, much in the same way as 'quarters' with us. The *Rath* comprised the enclosure on the hill crowned by the present Cathedral. Of the other parts, the first was called the *Trian-Mor*, or 'Principal Third'; the second, the *Trian-Massan* or *Massan Third*; and the

last, the *Trian-Saxon*, or English Third ; from the number, no doubt, of English persons resident in it, for purposes of business or study. See the entries at A.D. 1092 and 1112, *below*.

A.C. 1075. "Cumusgach O'Heroan, Abbot of Armagh, died."

The *Psalter of Cashel*, which was probably the *Four Masters'* authority for this entry, assigns Cumusgach the office of chief prelate of Armagh for three years. But the statement of his having so occupied the office is uncertain, and it is contradicted by these very Annals themselves, which assert, at A.D. 1084 above, that Maelisa, (who died, A.D. 1091,) was immediate successor to Dubhdalethe. Perhaps, therefore, Cumusgach was an abbot, not the *Abbot*, of Armagh. Or he may have been Vice-Abbot of Armagh, and superior of some religious department or house in the place. (See at A.D. 1085, *below*.)

A.C. 1077. Colcu O'Heroan, Head of the Poor of Armagh, [and] Elva, wife to the Lord of the Oriors, and Coarb of Moninna, [died].

Colcu, here mentioned, was (as appears from his title,) chief superintendent, or manager, of the charitable funds allocated to the relief of the poor of Armagh at this time. St. Moninna was Abbess of Killeavy near Newry, and foundress of the religious establishment there ; in consequence of which her successor in the same place, who was wife to the king or prince of the circumjacent territory of "the Oriors," is called her *Coarb*, according to the use of that word as applied to male saints, and as already explained at large. Abbesses, it appears, as well as Abbots, allowed themselves, in those days, the use of holy matrimony.

"A.D. 1079. Mac Gúldigde O'Lorcan, Secnap of Ardmagh" [died.]

This obit of a *Secnap* (i.e. 'Vice-Abbot,') of Armagh, is from the *Annals of Ulster* ; instead of which the *Four Masters* have "Mac Gilladhaidhe O'Lorcan, Lord of Farney, [i.e. in the Co. Monaghan,] died."

"A.C. 1080. "An army was led by Tirlough O'Brien to Dublin, and to [the territory of] the Meathmen, whereupon Maelachlainn [or, Melaghlín,] came to his house with the *Bachall Isa*, and with the Coarb of Patrick, and the clergy of Munster."

Turlough's object appears to have been to attack the men of Dublin and Meath, and establish in battle his claim to sovereignty over their part of Ireland. By the powerful mediation, however, of the Coarb of Patrick, seconded by the clergy of Turlough's own kingdom, bloodshed was averted, and Melaghlín induced to come, under their protection, and that of the Bachall-Isa, to Turlough's residence, (an understood token of condescension, or submission, on the visitor's part), to confer concerning terms of peace.

Nothing certainly was more wanted in those miserable and barbarous times, of bloodshed, ignorance, and prevailing irreligion, as a first step to the introducing of any kind of civilization or improvement, than the putting a stop to the endless wars and fightings between princes and clans, with which all parts of the island were then defiled. And it is at least one bright spot in the history of the Coarbs, about the period now spoken of, that they set themselves assiduously to promote this end, and appear on different occasions in the noble character of peacemakers, and as men sensible, in some degree, of the ruinous effects, as well of the antichristian character, of that wholesale system of bloodshed, open or secret, (according as violence or perfidy were most congenial to the aggressor's mind, or seemed best adapted to his circumstances,) by which their whole country was subjected to overwhelming misery.

At this same year, 1080, among the entries inserted in the *Annals of Ulster* is this one, "Cellach, Coarb of Patrick, *natus est*." (i.e. 'was born.'). Of the person so spoken of, we shall hear more in due time.

A.C. 1085. "Gormal Lyseach, Coarb of the *Regles-Brighde* [i.e. of the Abbey Church of St. Brigid] in Armagh, a pattern of wisdom and piety [died]."

A.C. 1089. "Gillapatrik O'Celechan, *Secnap*, (i.e. Prior,) of Armagh, died.

A.C. 1091. "The Western half of the Rath of Armagh burned. Maelisa, Coarb of Patrick, died after penitence, the 20th of December, and Donnell son of Awley, was immediately appointed to his place."

A.C. 1092. "The Rath of Armagh, with its churches, burned, on the Fourth of the Calends of September : also, a street of the *Trian Mor*, and a street of the *Trian Saxon*. . . . Donnell, son of Awley, Coarb of Patrick, [was] on a [visitation] circuit of Kinel-owen, [or Tyrone,] and obtained his demand." (See at A.D. 1074, *above*.)

A.C. 1093. "Armagh and its Churches burned."

A.C. 1094. "Donnell, Coarb of Patrick, [went] on a [visitation] circuit in Munster for the first time ; and obtained his full visitation [tribute] of *sceapalls*, beside offerings from them [of that province.]"

The *Annals of Ulster*, at A.D. 1095, have this entry, "Hugh mac Maelisa, Coarb of Patrick, died : " in which it would seem evident that there must be some mistake, Donnell, son of Awley, being Coarb from A.C. 1091 to 1105. The only corresponding, or partly similar, entry, to be found in the *Four Masters* at the same year, is this : "Hugh, son of Maelisa O'Brolchain, Chief Lector (*aird-fhearheighind*) and Augustine O'Quinn, Chief Judge (*ard-breitheamh*) of Leinster, died." The O'Brolchans or Brollaghans were a Derry sept, several individuals of which attained to places of high distinction in the Irish Church. The Maelisa here mentioned was a "learned senior of Ireland" (*sruith seanoir Ereann*), who died in the highest repute for learning and sanctity in 1086. Malcolm O'Brolchan was "bishop of Armagh" in 1122, and Maelbrighde O'Brolchan filled the same office in 1139. The very famous abbot and bishop, Flaherty Brallaghan, or O'Brolchan, (see p. 32, *sup.*) was Coarb of Columkille in Derry, from 1150 to 1175, and his kinsman Flann filled the same office in 1219. Finally "Maelbrighde Macantire O'Brolchan, [i.e. Maelbrighde O'Brolchan, son of the artificer,] a learned Doctor, and Bishop of Kildare and of the Province of Leinster, died," according to the *Four Masters*, in A.D. 1097.

The *Annals* of the year 1096 include a strange narrative, exhibiting in a very striking manner the low state of religion and education to be met with, even among those who occupied the highest position as teachers and ministers of religion in Ireland, at the period at which we have now arrived. From some old prediction, it seems, the Irish people had gathered, that in whatever year about this time St. John's day, (Dec. 27,) would fall on Friday, a dreadful plague was to be expected to ravage their country. In the preceding year, 1095, according to the *Four Masters*, "there was a great pestilence over all Europe generally, whereof some say that a fourth part of the people of Ireland perished," several of the most distinguished of whom are named by the *Four Masters*, including Hugh, son of Maelisa O'Brolchan, above mentioned. In 1096 the feast of St. John fell on the dreaded day, the influence of which circumstance on the clergy and people of the country is described by our authors in the extract next following :—

A.C. 1096. "The Festival of John fell on Friday this year. And great was the terror which seized on the men of Ere in consequence. By the advice, therefore, adopted by the clergy of Ireland, with the Coarb of Patrick at their head, for their protection against the scourge threatened against them by prediction of remote antiquity, notice was issued for all the people generally to observe a solemn fast [once] every month, from Wednesday till Sunday, and abstinence every day to the year's end, excepting Sundays, Holidays, and high Solemnities. And they gave alms likewise, and offerings to God, in great abundance. And many lands were given to churches and clergymen by the kings and princes.—And the men of Ere were saved for that time from the fiery stroke of vengeance."

The same circumstances are noticed in the *Annals of Ulster* more briefly, thus :—

A.D. 1096. "Great fright in Ireland from St. John's feast in this year, untill God, through fasting and prayer of the Coarb of Patrick, and the rest of the Irish clergy, did save them."

The longer account of the *Annals* of Clonmacnoise is to the following effect :—

A.D. 1095. *There was a great mortality and plague over all Europe this year, in so much that it depopulated great provinces and contrys. There was not such a pestilence in this land since the death of the sons of King Hugh Slane [A.D. 884,] that died of the disease called Boye Koyneall, untill this present year; of which disease the ensuing noblemen, with infinite number of meaner sort, died, viz. :—Godfrey, king of the Danes of Dublyn and the Islands; Dunchus, archbishop of Dublyn. [see p. 9, sup.] Breakawe O'Manchan, Coarb of St. Kevyn; Donell Duffe O'Ferral, prince of the borders of Lynster; Mac Maras O'Koewan, Coarb of Oenne; the bishop O'Kehernie, Coarb of Moyeorge; Augustin O'Koyne, chief Judge of Lynster. The king and subjects seeing the plague continue with such heat with them, were strocken with great terror; for appeasing of which plague the clergy of Ireland thought good to cause all the inhabitants of the kingdome to fast from Wednesday to Sunday, once every month, for the space of one whole year, except sollemne and great festivall days; they also appointed certain prayers to be said daily. The king, noblemen, and all the subjects of the kingdome were very beneficiall towards the church and pooremen this year, whereby God's wrath was asswaged. The king of his great bounty gave great immunities and freedom to churches that were theretofore charged with sesse and other extraordinarie contrie charges, with many other large and bountifull gifts."*

At the same year, the Four Masters have also this entry :—

A.D. 1096. "Maolpatrick, son of Arvey, Bishop of Armagh, died."

A.D. 1097. "An army was led by Murtoth O'Brien, with [the people of] Leath Mogha, [i.e. the Southern Half of Ireland,] and with the men of Meath, and some of [those of] Connaught, in the direction of the North. And they came as far as Moy-Conaille. [i.e. the plain of Connaille, County Louth, see p. 70, sup.] They returned subsequently, however, without prey or hostages. For Donnell O'Lochlainn came, with the mustered forces of the North, to Connaille Grove, to give battle to Murtoth and his forces; until God and the Coarb of Patrick made peace between them."

A.C. 1099. "Kencorach O'Boyle succeeded to the Bishopric of Armagh on Whitsunday. An expedition was [again] made by Murtoth O'Brien and [the men of] Leath-Mogha, to Slieve Fuaid [i.e. the Mountain range on the South side of Armagh] to obtain the Hostages of O'Lochlainn. And Donnell was in readiness to meet him. But the Coarb of Patrick made a year's peace between the North of Ireland and Leath Mogha, and so they parted for that time."

Hostages appear to have been the general means by which any sort of government was carried on, before the Anglo-Norman Invasion, in Ireland. The superior chieftain kept his subordinate in order by having possession of his *hostages*; i.e. some of his children, perhaps, or of those of the nobles of his territory, or some of those nobles themselves. Claims of superiority were settled with the sword, and the victor took hostages of the vanquished, as a guarantee for tribute or obedience. (See at A.D. 1005, p. 76 *sup.*) The one who could secure the hostages of all Ireland, was, *ipso facto*, chief king of the whole island. If any of the tributaries attempted a revolt, a remedy was found, or at least a revenge, in cutting the throats of the unfortunate hostages.

A.C. 1100. "Donogh O'Hoey, king of Ulidia, [Co. Down,] and some of the chief men of Ulidia along with him, were taken prisoners by Donnell O'Lochlainn, king of Aileach, on the Fifth of the Calends of June."

A.C. 1101. "Donogh O'Hoey, king of Ulidia, was liberated from his fetters, by Donnell, son of Mac Lochlainn, king of Aileach, in exchange for his son and his foster-brother, in the Duleek [or great Church] of Armagh, at the request of the Coarb of Patrick, and his Congregation also, after they had sworn to one another on the *Bachall Ica*, and on the Relics of the Church, the Eleventh of the Calends of January."

A.C. 1102. "Muron O'Morgair, *Arch-Lector of Armagh, and of all the West of Europe*, died on the Third of the Nones of October, at Mungret, in Munster. (See p. 18, *sup.*) . . . The hostages of the men of Ireland [were given] into the hands of Donnell, son of Awley, Coarb of Patrick, for a year's peace between Donnell O'Lochlainn, and Murtoth O'Brien."

A.C. 1103. "Great war between the Kinel-Owen [people] and the Ulidians, and Murtoth O'Brien came with the men of Munster, the Leinster and Ossory men, and the chiefs of Connaught, and the men of Meath and their kings, to Moy-Cova, [Co. Down,] to support the Ulidians." [Then follows in the 4 M. a rather lengthened account of the military movements which ensued, between Murtoth and his men on the one side, and the forces of the North, assembled in Hy-Breasail Macha, under Donnell O'Lochlainn, on the other. In the course of these proceedings Murtoth found opportunity to visit Armagh,] "and left eight ounces of gold upon the altar, and promised eight score cows, and returned again to Moycova, where he left [the forces of] the province of Leinster, and a good number of the men of Munster; while he himself, with the king of Meath, and the king of Connaught, started on a plundering excursion into Dalraderia," [and lost some of his best men in the course of his robberies in that part.] "Donnell O'Lochlainn proceeded, with the Clanna-Neill of the North, to Moycova, to attack the camp of the Leinster-men. And the men of Leinster and Ossory, the Munster-men and the foreigners, gathered all the forces that were with them, and fought a sore battle in Moycova, on Wednesday the Nones of August, eight days after their arrival in the Moy. Leath-Mogha was however defeated, and great was the slaughter of its people that followed:" [of which instances are then given by the 4 M.]

A.C. 1105. "Donnell, son of Awley, noble coarb (*ard-comharba*) of Patrick, went to Dublin, to make peace between Donnell O'Lochlainn and Murtoth O'Brien. And there he took his death-sickness, and in that sickness was brought to Donagh-airthir-Evna, where he was anointed. He was brought afterwards to the Duleek [or great church] of Armagh, where he died on the Feast of Las rean of Innis-Murray, August the 12th, and was buried with honor in Armagh. Kellach, son of Hugh, son of Maelisa, was appointed to the Coarbship of Patrick, by election of the men of Ireland, and entered into orders on the day of Adamnan's Feast." (See p. 23, *sup.*)

Donagh-airthir-Evna, Dr. O'Donovan thinks, may be *Donnyearney*, Co. Dublin.

A.C. 1106. "Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, went on a visitation of Ulidia, for the first time, and obtained his full claim, *viz.*, a cow from every six persons, or a heifer in calf from every three persons, besides many additional offerings. Kellach made likewise a visitation of Munster for the first time, and obtained his full visitation [tribute,] *viz.*—seven cows and seven sheep, and half an ounce of [silver] from every Cantred in Munster, beside many jewels in addition thereto, and Kellach assumed on that occasion the degree of noble bishop, at the request of the men of Ere.

"Kencorach O'Boyle, Bishop of Armagh, died."

The passage corresponding to the above in the old translation of the Annals of Ulster, already so often cited, reads thus :—

"Ceallach, Coarb of Patrick, visiting Kindred-Owen at his first tyme, and got his will, i.e. a cow from every six, or a young heifer from every three, or half an ounce from every seven, beyde many offrings. . . . Ceallach, upon his visitation of Mounster, at his first tyme, and brought his full will, viz., seven coves, seven sheepe, and half an ounce, out of every huudreth or cantred in Mounster, beydes many gifts of prise; and become archbishopp by taking orders at the request of Ireland in generall. Cainchorack O'Boyll, Archbishopp of Ardmach, dyed."

This curious passage appears to contain a notice of the first step taken towards the establishment of a regular metropolitan see in Armagh. It informs us that it was on occasion of his making a visitation tour in Munster, that Kellach, abbot of Armagh, was induced, at the instance of his countrymen, to accept the rank of "noble bishop:" a proceeding which the translation of the *Ulster Annals*, above, appears to interpret correctly, in regarding it as equivalent to his becoming archbishop in the regular sense of the word. In fact, we have now reached a period when matters were ripe in Ireland for the great change which eventually assimilated the form of church government in use here to that which was adopted in other lands. We have arrived within four years of the Synod of Rathbreasail. Gille, already probably bishop of Limerick and Pope's Legate, was no doubt the chief of those at whose instance Kellach adopted the step here on record, and became the first real *Primate of Armagh*; although it was to be still some time longer before his See was to attain, in the eyes of Roman churchmen, to "the plenitude of honour," (as a distinguished one of them styles it,) in receiving from Rome the archiepiscopal "Pall," the honorary token of papal acceptance of the recipient's pledged submission to the authority of "the Apostolic See."

Cainchorach, or Kencorach, O'Boyle, it may be observed, is in the *Annals of Ulster*, as above cited, called *Archbishop of Ardmagh*; but this is only in a *Translation*, and expresses the idea of the translator, not of the original Anualist. So likewise, in the Translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, made in the same age, (i.e. early in the 17th century,) he is called, "Bishop O'Boyle, archbishop of Ardmach."

At the next year the *Annals of Ulster* have the following entries, which are not to be found in the Four Masters.

A.D. 1107. *Maelpatrick O'Druan takinge the function of Lector in Ardmach this yeare, in St. Ailbe and Molaise of Daivinis [i.e. Devenish,]*

their feast day, Maelcoluim O'Brolchan took the bishoprick the next day. A year's peace made by Ceallach, Coarb of Patrick, between Murtoigh O'Bryan and Donell mac Mic Lochlainn." Cod. Clarend., tom. 49.

Donell mac Mic Lochlainn, i.e. Donnell, son of the son of Lochlainn, is another way of expressing Donnell Ua Lochlainn, or O'Lochlain, Ua, or O', signifying a grandson, although sometimes, (more generally,) any descendant. An indication of an increasing attention to canonical order, or at least of progressing notions on the subject, is observable in the greater particularity with which the succession to the bishoprick of Armagh is marked in the Annals about this period. We no longer have bare *Obits* of the Bishops, but notes of their several accessions also. Still, however, the *Coarbship* continues to be recognised as of higher consequence; and the day of the year on which those who held it departed this life is carefully placed on record, for a "commemoration," perhaps, in the services of the church;—a distinction which is not conferred on those humbler functionaries, the *Bishops of Armagh*."

A.C. 1108. "Aengus O'Cleircen, Steward of Munster for Patrick, and Hugh, son of Dubhdaleithe, intended Coarb of Patrick, [See p. 73, *sup.*] Sub-Erenach [or, 'Vice-Erenach'] of Armagh, died. Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, [went] on a visitation tour to Connaught for the first time, and obtained his full demand."

The word *Fos-airchinneach*, here translated "Sub-Erenach," Dr. O'Donovan explains (at A.D. 1089,) as meaning, "attendant, or resident" erenach.

A.C. 1109. "An expedition was made by Donnell Mac Lochlainn, accompanied by [the men of] the North of Ireland, to Slieve Fuaid; but Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, made a year's peace between Mac Lochlainn and O'Brien: after which the forces of the North of Ireland, Conall and Owen, [i.e. the men of Donegal and Tyrone, &c.] proceeded to Moy-Hy-Breasail, to attack the Ulidians that were in Moycova: and the Ulidians gave them the three hostages which they themselves selected.

"A plundering expedition was made by Murrogh O'Maelseachlainn, king of Tara, in the course of which he ravaged the Fearsa-Rois [country, i.e. the territory about Carrickmacross;] and killed O'Finn, i.e. the lord of Fearsa-Rois, in violation of the guaranty of the *Bachall-Ira*, and Coarb of Patrick. But God executed vengeance on him for this. Hugh O'Rourke came twice upon the camp of Murrogh O'Maelseachlainn, and great was the slaughter made of his men through the curse of Patrick's Congregation."

A.C. 1110. "Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, went on a visitation [tour] in Meath for the first time, and obtained his demand."

A.C. 1111. "Casey O'Lee, of Patrick's Congregation, [i.e. one of the members of the clerical body under the Abbot of Armagh,] a noble Senior of Ireland, died.".....

"A Synod was convened at *Fiadh-mic-Aengusa* by the nobles of Ireland, headed by Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, and Maelmuire O'Dunan, noble Senior of Ireland, with fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand students, and by Murtoigh O'Brien, with the nobles of Leath-Mogha, to prescribe regulations for promoting order and good conduct among all, both laity and clergy.....

"Clonmacnois plundered by the Dalcassians, at the instance [i.e. by the counsel,] of Murtoigh O'Brien."

It is very strange that we find in the *Four Masters* no mention whatsoever of the remarkable and important *Synod of Rath-Breasail*, not so much as the name of the place where it was held occurring in any part of their Annals. But, on the other hand, there are some reasons that make it appear very probable, that the Synod, of which the short notice just cited is given by them, (and which is the only one they speak of as occurring about the time, i.e. A.D. 1110, to which Keating assigns the Synod of Rath-Breasail,) was no other than that of Rath-Breasail itself. The history of this Synod is of so much importance in connection with the general subject of the present Essay, as to justify our dwelling a little on it. Let us see, first, what evidence is furnished concerning the matter by the other ancient Annals of Ireland.

The *Annals of Ulster* give almost identically word for word the same account of the Synod as that of the *Four Masters*; the statement furnished by the latter seeming to be taken, indeed, wholly, from the *Ulster Annals*.

Of the *Annals of Innisfallen*, there are different copies extant, which differ from each other considerably. In the Edition of them published (in Irish) by Dr. O'Connor, in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, we find the following entry:—

A.D. 1094. "A Great Council of the men of Ireland was held at *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa*, viz. at Rath-Breasail, both of clergy and laity, headed by Murtoigh O'Brien, chief king of Ireland, and O'Dunan, viz. Archbishop of Ireland, and Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, and the nobles of Ireland at large; when they made rules and regulations the best that ever yet were made in Ireland."

Here it is expressly stated, that the Synod of *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa* was the same as that of Rath-Breasail. The two are generally, however, supposed to have been different; and in the copy of those same *Annals of Innisfallen* used by Dr. Lanigan, (iv. 38, 39,) we have quite a different account of the matter given us; thus:—

"A. 1111. A general convention of the noblemen of Ireland, both clergy and laity, was held by Murtoigh O'Brien, Monarch of Ireland, at *Fiadh-Aengusa*, wherein were assembled the nobility of Munster, and Maelmuire O'Dunain, archbishop of Ireland,* and Ceallach Mac Aodha [i.e. Kellach, son of Aodh or Hugh,] successor of St. Patrick—the number of men in holy orders who were at that convention, 58 bishops, 317 priests, 160 deacons, and a vast number of clergy of inferior degree; and in that synod many regulations were made.

"In the same year the great synod of Usneach was also held; wherein the parishes of Meath were equally divided between the bishops of Clonmacnois and Clonard. There attended at these regulations in that synod, Morogh O'Maelseachlain, [king of Meath,] Eocha [or, Hoey] O'Kelly, and the clergy of the religious house of St. Kieran, together with Giolla-Crist O'Mailean [Malone,] abbot of Clonmacnois."

According to the account here given, two important synods were held this year, one at *Fiadh-Aengusa*, for all Ireland, and the other at *Usney* in Meath, for that Principality only. And the persons who took the chief part in the one were wholly different from the most prominent actors in the other. There seems, moreover, to be every reason for receiving this as a correct statement of the matter, so far: although some, Harris for instance, have thought the Synod of *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa* and that of *Usney* to be identical. Harris's note, in *Ware's Bishops*, (p. 52.) on the names of the place, or places, in question, is to this effect:—

"*Fiadh-Mac-Aengusa*, as much as to say, the Land or Wood of the son of *Aengus*, was, in very antient times, called *Coendruim*, and afterwards *Usneach*. It is a Mountain near the Centre of *Meath*, antiently famous not only for Synods and publick Assemblies, but also, for that (according to the antient divisions of Ireland) from the Top of it, the Bounds of the four Provinces terminated, and were distinguished; to each of which from the Top of this Mountain [one of; R.K.] four publick Highways lead[s]. It is now called the Hill of *Usney*, and stands in the Barony of *Rathconrath*, and County of *Westmeath*, about 6 Miles S.W. of Mullingar.

Colgan also says (*Tr. Th. p. 299.*) that in the margin of the *Four Masters* the Synod of *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa* is called that of *Usneach*, (See *Lanigan* iv. 39.) Such a note might, however, have been added by mistake of some late annotator; perhaps from observing, that in some records, the Synod of *Usney* alone is mentioned at this period. For instance, what the *Annals of Boyle* (published by Dr. O'Connor in his great work above cited,) have on the subject is merely this:—"A.D. 1111. The Synod of *Usney* held by the clergy in Ireland."

To introduce here at full length Keating's account of the Synod of Rathbreasail, and of the limits assigned in it to all the various Dioceses of Ireland, on their first establishment, would be inconvenient, if for no other reason, because it would naturally lead us to engage in rather tedious topographical investigations, connected with the identifying of the different places mentioned in the ancient specification of the diocesan boundaries, as given by Keating. The study of the matter has been, indeed, facilitated by the published labors of Dr. O'Donovan, Dr. Reeves, and others who have borrowed from them. But the particular limits then assigned to the several dioceses are of less importance to us, here, than the fact, that it was at this period

* i.e., perhaps, chief bishop at large of the people of *Leath-Mogha*, which, with the authors of the interpolated additions to the *Innisfallen Annals*, as natives of that portion of the island, may have been occasionally synonymous with "Ireland."

that, in different Synods convened for the purpose, the limits referred to were first specified at all ; and it will suffice, therefore, to insert Keating's general account of the Synod and circumstances connected with it, without adding, for the present, the details to be found in his history descriptive of the extent and boundaries of the several dioceses of Ireland, as at first constituted or projected.

The original of the following portions of Keating is to be found in Dr. Todd's MS. copy of the work, pp. 685, &c.

KEATING'S ACCOUNT OF THE SYNOD OF RATH-BREASAIL, &c.

"Murtogh, son of Turlogh, son of Teigue, son of Brian Bora, succeeded to the kingdom of Leath Mogha, and of the most of Ireland, for 20 years. A religious woman, daughter of O'Heney, was mother to him, and also to Roderic O'Conor. In the reign of Murtogh occurred the transactions which follow.

"It was this Murtogh that presented Cashel to the Church, in honor of God and Patrick, as an offering to them, in the first year of his reign.—This was in the year of our Lord 1106.

"About that same time was held a general convention of the men of Ireland, both laity and clergy, in conjunction with Murtogh O'Brien, in Fiadh Mhic-Aongusa. The following is the number of clerical persons that were present in that Convention :—Maolmuire O'Duman, Archbishop of Munster ; Kellach, son of Hugh, Coarb of Patrick, i.e. Vicar-General of the Primate, [see p. 80, sup.] eight bishops, three hundred and sixty priests, one hundred and forty deacons, and numbers of [other] clerical persons not here specified. Statutes, laws, and rules were framed by them for church and laity. After these proceedings Maolmuire O'Duman, Archbishop of Munster, departed this life.

"It was in the time of this Murtogh, likewise, that there was celebrated in Ireland another general Convention or Synod, at Rath-Breasail.—This was in the Year of our Lord 1110, according to the ancient book of the Annals of Clonenagh-Fiontain of Leix, [i.e. of Clonenagh, where St. Fintan founded his church, in the Queen's County,] in which are set down the principal matters that were transacted in that Synod. Gille Easpog, [i.e. 'Gille the Bishop,'] Bishop of Limerick, was he that was then pope's Legate in Ireland ; and he it was that was president of that Council.

"The following are the matters which were ordained therein. As there were established in the South of England, twelve Bishops under the See of Canterbury, and in the North, twelve Bishops under that of York, a like system was ordained for Ireland in the Synod of Rath-Breasail, namely, twelve bishops in Leath-Mogha, twelve bishops in Leath-Cuinn, and two Bishops in Meath. It was in this Synod that the churches of Ireland were given over completely to the Bishops, without reservation of rent, or control over them, for any temporal rulers, for ever. It was in it, likewise, that the Fairheadha [i.e. parishes, properly, 'parishes,'] or Dioceses, of the Bishops of Ireland, were constituted.

"These to be the Bishops of Leath-Cuinn. Six in the Province of Ulster, including the Primate. Five in the Province of Connaught. And two in Meath. So that the number of twelve bishops for Leath-Cuinn is completed exclusively of the Primate.

"The Sees in the Province of Ulster are these. Armagh, under the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate over all the Bishops of Ireland, Clogher, Ardstraw, Derry, Connor, and Dun-da-legh-ghlas, [i.e. Down.]

"The Sees, moreover, of Connaught : Tuam-da-ghualann, [i.e. Tuam,] Clonfert-Brenain, Cong, Killala, and Ardcarne.

"The Sees of Munster : Cashel, under the Archbishop of Leath-Mogha, Lismore, or Port-Lairge, [i.e. Waterford,] Cork, Rath-mhaighe-Deisgirt, [i.e. Ardfer,] Limerick, Killaloe, and Imiloch-Iobhair, [i.e. Emly.] These were the seven Sees appointed for Munster in that Synod.

"The Sees of Leinster, viz., Kilkenny, Leighlin, Kildare, Glendaloch, and Ferns, or Loch Garman ; [i.e. Wexford.] These five Sees, added to the seven Sees that are in Munster, complete the twelve Sees of Leath-Mogha. The reason why Dublin is not included in this enumeration, is, that it was not usual, in its case, [for the Bishop] to receive consecration elsewhere than from the Archbishops of York, or Canterbury, in England.

Keating here interrupts his narrative to correct an error of Hammer's, who had stated, that the Irish clergy were anciently subject to the See of Canterbury ; (the only ones of them that had ever acknowledged such subjection being those of the Danish settlements in Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, and Limerick ; and even these only for a short period, in the early part of the 12th Century :) after which he proceeds as follows :—

"I am disposed to think, although this ancient book doth not set down Dublin [among the Sees,] that it was, however, intended that there should be six bishops in Munster, six in Leinster, and the Archbishop of Cashel over them all, as chief prelate of Leath-Mogha, to accord with the form of the temporal supremacy, as we have already observed above, when touching on this matter in the reign of Laoghaire.

"And now for the Fairheadha, or Dioceses, and their boundaries, as they were settled in this Synod of Rath-Breasail.

"The Fairche [i.e. Diocese] of the Archbishop of Armagh, viz. from Slieve Breagh to Cuaille-Ciannachta, and from Bior to the Abhainn-mhor, [or Blackwater]."

Then follow similar descriptions of the extent of the five other dioceses of Ulster, the two of Meath, and the five in Connaught, after enumeration of which last is added this notice :—

"If the clergy of Connaught agree to the division here made, we are well pleased. And if they agree not thereto, let such division as they please be adopted, provided only that there be no more than five bishops for Connaught."

Then follow the Dioceses of Munster, with their several boundaries ; among which Limerick is particularly distinguished, (no doubt as being the See of the Legate President of the Synod), by a notice to this effect, appended to the description of its extent. "Whosoever transgresses these limits, he doth it in defiance of the Almighty, of Peter the Apostle, of St. Patrick and his Coarb, and of the Christian Church" at large.

Last are given the bounds of the Leinster Dioceses ; after specification of which, it is added, as in the case of Connaught : "If the clergy of Leinster agree to this, we are content. But let them not [in any case] have more than five bishops." The concluding portion of Keating's account of the Synod is as follows, (the first sentence, here printed in Roman type, being in Latin in his work, while the remainder, as all the rest of that work generally, is in Irish :)—

"And many other good statutes were enacted in this holy Synod, which for brevity sake we have not written here. The Cross of the Coarb of Peter, and of the Legate, viz. Gille-Easpog, Bishop of Limerick. The Cross of Gilla-Kelly, [i.e. Kellach,] Coarb of Patrick, and Primate of Ireland. The Cross of Maelisa O'Hainmire, Archbishop of Cashel. These, their Crosses, and the Crosses of all the Laity and Clergy that were present in this Holy Synod of Rath-Breasail, be upon him who transgresses the ordinances here set forth, and the curse of them all upon every one who shall dare to contravene them."

It is much to be regretted that Keating did not incorporate in his history the simple Record of this Synod, precisely as he found it in the ancient *Book of Clonenagh*, which was his authority on this occasion, without interspersing it, as he has obviously done, with so much of his own ideas ; disabling us thereby from understanding whether the inaccuracies to be observed in some parts of it are to be attributed to the original, or to the transcriber. In the account as given by him, it is intimated, for instance, that the Church in Ireland was to be so constituted as to agree in form with that in England, having twenty-four bishops under two archbishops, according to his view of it. And yet he states afterwards, that there were to be in Ireland, besides the twelve prelates for the North, and twelve for the South, two others in Meath ; and again, ultimately, in enumerating the Dioceses, he places them under the charge of neither 24 bishops, nor 26, but under five and twenty.

According to Keating's account, there were held in the time of Murtogh O'Brien, king of Munster, two very important ecclesiastical conventions ; one at *Fiadh-Aengusa*, or *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa* ; of the number, &c. of persons present at which we are distinctly informed, the King, the Archbishop, the Coarb, &c., while we receive no hint as to the details of the proceedings adopted there, farther than that "rules were framed for church and laity :"—the other at *Rath-Breasail*, the acts of which are described to us at considerable length, while yet no statement is made as to the number or quality of the ecclesiastics present, saving, that the principal among them were, Gille, the Pope's Legate, Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, and "Maelisa O'Hainmire, Archbishop of Cashel."

Further, it is not known where either of these places, *Rath-Breasail* or *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa*, was situated ; as the assertion of Harris, that the latter was identical with Usney Hill, in Westmeath, appears to rest on no sufficient foundation : while of the former place, Dr. Lanigan observes :—

"Our writers do not tell us where Rath-Breasail was situated; but, if we are to judge from the name, I should think it was in the district anciently called Hy-Bressail, now Clanbrasil, in the county of Armagh, or in the other Hy-Bressail, that formed part of Hy-falgia (the ancient Offaly) in Leinster." (Ec. Hist. iv. 38.)

There is, however, apparently, no evidence to lead us to connect Rath-Breasail with the district of Hy-Breasail in Armagh. But several circumstances, on the other hand, combine to render it probable that it was situated in the other Hy-Bressail, in Leinster;—at the place, in fact, which is now called Mountrath; in Irish, *Muine-Ratha*. First, that is the post-town of the parish of *Clonenagh*, where the now lost *Book of Clonenagh*, or of the *Annals of Clonenagh*, was compiled, which was the original authority for our narrative of the proceedings of this Synod. Secondly, Dr. O'Connor's copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen*, states expressly, that *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa* and *Rath-Breasail* were identical. Has Mountrath, then, had any connection with an Aengus, from whom the name *Fiadh-Aengusa* might be derived? Yes, the most famous Aengus in Irish ecclesiastical history, *Aengus the Hagiologist*, was one of the brethren of the monastery of Clonenagh, and much celebrated in that place. "He was wont," says Dr. Lanigan, "to spend a great part of his time in a lonesome spot not far distant from Clonenagh, and which from him has been called *Disert Aengus*, where he occupied himself in reading the psalms and in constant prayer. . . . He became afterwards abbot, apparently, of Clonenagh or of Disert-Aengus, or probably of both places . . . and was buried at Clonenagh." (Ec. Hist. iii. 245, 246.) *Disert Aengusa*, i.e. Aengus's Desert, is now Dysart-Enos, near the rock of Dunamase, Barony of East Maryboro', in the Queen's County. It is nearly identical in meaning with *Fiadh-Aengusa*; the latter signifying 'Aengus's wood' or 'wilderness.' But if the name *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa*, or *Fiadh-mhic-Aengusa*, be more correct in form, it will imply that the place derived its appellation from the sons, or from a son, of Aengus, rather than from that individual himself. Connected with the territory of the Southern Hy-Breasail, we find in Harris's Ware the information following. (Vol. II, p. 50, Ch. vii. Sec. 1.)

"HY-FALGIA, Offaly, an ancient territory extending into part of the County of Kildare, part of the King's County, and part of the Queen's County, seems to have been a part of the Territory of Clannmalurga. Philipstown and Geashill stood in this Territory, and it was anciently possessed by a Sept of the O'Connors, called O'Connor Failge, by the O'Dempseys and O'Duins. The Barony called Offaly now lies wholly in the County of Kildare. In this territory of Hy-Falgia lay a smaller district called Hy-Bressail in Hy-Falgia, to distinguish it from Hy-Bressail-Macha in the larger territory of Hy-Meith-Tire, now the Barony of Orrior and Co. of Ardmagh." [It received its name, apparently, from Bressail, a famous king of Leinster, who died, according to the Four Masters, in A.D. 435. Hy-Bressail, originally Ui-Breasail, means, the descendants of Bressail.—Lorcán, king of Leinster, who was killed by the Danes of Dublin, A.D. 941, is called in an old poem, cited by the Four Masters, *Ua Bressail Bric*, i.e. 'descendant of Bressail Bric'; viz., according to Dr. O'Donovan, of the Bressail just mentioned. R. K.]

From all that has now been advanced, we may receive it as sufficiently probably, until something more conclusive be suggested, that the Synod of *Fiadh-mhic-Aengusa*, *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa*, or *Fiadh Aengusa*, and the Synod of *Rathbreasail*, were, as stated in O'Connor's *Annals of Innisfallen*, identical; and that Keating's representing them as different arose from his having taken the two notices from different authorities;—also, that the Synod in question was held at Mountrath, in the Southern Hy-Breasail territory, in the monastery of Clonenagh; and we shall thus be left at no loss to account for its bearing the name of the *Rath-Breasail* Synod, (from the same *Rath* from which Mountrath was called,) or another name derived from that of the famous Aengus, connected so closely as he was with the same locality, or, for the fact of the principal record of the proceedings transacted in it having been that which was comprised in the ancient *Annals of Clonenagh*. The Synod of Usney, described in the *Annals of Innisfallen*, as above cited from Lanigan, was undoubtedly a different one, relating not to the ecclesiastical affairs of all Ireland, but to those only which concerned the principality or kingdom of Meath. Still, it also is not without interest in connection with our proper subject in these pages, exhibiting, as it does, a carrying out, for that part of Ireland, of the great plan for the settlement of the dioceses, which was at this period so effectively put in operation elsewhere throughout the island generally.

It is, however, worthy of note, that the *Four Masters* make no mention of the Legate Gille having presided at the Synod of *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa*. But this is the less to be wondered at, seeing that they have no where, even once, in their *Annals*, made any mention whatsoever of that very remarkable individual; from the circumstance, no doubt, that the *Ulster Annals*, and other authorities which they followed, contained no notice concerning him. Yet his undoubted celebrity is sufficiently attested by the mention of him in *St. Bernard's Life of Malachy*, and other ancient records, he having been one of the first great promoters in Ireland of the views of papal supremacy and church unity held in the communion of Rome; and having, in furtherance of such views, written a treatise on the services of the Church, which he addressed to the Bishops and Clergy of all Ireland; at the express desire, and urgent instance, of many of whom, as he tells us, the work was prepared for publication. One object aimed at in it was, "that those different and schismatical Service Books, by which almost all Ireland was deluded, might give place to one Office, Catholic and Roman." (Ussher's *Sylloge* No. 30; and Lanigan, *Ec. Hist.* IV. 24, 27.) But although Gille of Limerick was exceedingly influential in Ireland, he was notwithstanding connected with a party that had to work against a strong tide of national feeling. For the bishops of the Danish cities, of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, occupied a schismatical position towards the great body of the Irish Church at this period, connecting themselves with the Roman Archbishops of Canterbury, and refraining, on account of canonical scruples, from receiving consecration at the hands of any mere Irish prelates. Such conduct naturally excited a feeling of jealousy among the Irish bishops, and Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, in particular, was understood to entertain a sentiment of no small dissatisfaction on the subject.

In proof of this, it will suffice to refer to the recorded statement of the citizens of Dublin, in their letter to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, in A.D. 1122, (some ten or twelve years after the Synod of Rath-Breasail,) on behalf of Gregory, their bishop elect, whom they were then sending to the English Primate for his consecration. "Know you for verity," say they, "that the bishops of Ireland entertain towards us the very greatest jealousy, and that bishop especially who resides at Armagh, in consequence of our unwillingness to submit to ordination at their hands, and our preferring to continue subject always to your authority." It appears, therefore, that while Kellach and Gille co-operated, as they certainly did, for the introducing of such reforms as the Irish Church appeared to them both to need, they were not entirely harmonious in sentiment as to what course ought to be adopted towards it, by men in such a position as Gille, and the other Dano-Hibernian prelates, occupied; the latter, probably, pressing their foreign ideas on the Irish Church a little faster than the national party under Kellach were disposed to receive them; although, at the same time, Kellach and those who sympathised with him admitted equally the necessity for reforms, and were equally anxious to introduce them, but in their own way.

Reasons connected with some such feelings may probably have led originally to the suppression, by the compilers of the Northern *Annals*, of any mention of the name of so famous a personage as Gille, in those records; just as in the different accounts remaining to us of the Synod of *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa* we may observe another somewhat similar exhibition of the effects of local influences, in the placing of Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, first, in the statement of the matter furnished by the Northern Annalists; while in that of the Southern historians, (Keating, &c.) the precedence is given to "Maolmuire O'Dunan, Archbishop of Munster;" although in the signatures at the end, in Keating's account, the Coarb of Patrick again comes first.

Concerning the date of the Synod of Rath-Breasail, different and widely varying statements have been made. The year 1110 has been in these pages assumed as the correct one, on the authority of Dr. Todd's MS. copy of Keating, and as that which Ware and Lynch also have adopted. The English Keating, if such a production be worth citing, assigns for it the year 1115.

Both these dates are, however, rejected by Dr. Lanigan. "Neither of them," he says, "is correct. In fact, the Synod of Rath-Breasil could not have been held before 1118, whereas it was attended by Maelisa, Archbishop of Cashel, the successor of Moelmurry O'Dunain, who died in the latter end of 1117. On the other hand, it could not have been later than the early part of 1119, if it be true, as Keating says, that it was summoned in the reign [properly, 'the time' R.K.] of Murtoogh O'Brien, who died on the 18th of March, in said year." Lanigan, accordingly, supposes the true date to be about A.D. 1118. (*Ec. Hist.* iv. 38—41.)

Keating's account of the historical matters now treated of, is, however, involved in difficulties, from which Dr. Lanigan's arrangement will not extricate it. He and the Four Masters differ widely as to the number of Bishops reported to have been present at the Synod of *Fiadh-mac-Aengusa*. And although both agree in calling Maolmuire O'Dunan, *Archbishop of Munster*, Dr. O'Donovan remarks that "This is probably an error, for in a contemporaneous document [i.e. one dated in, or before, 1094,] a charter in the *Book of Kells*, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, he is called *Senior Leithe Cuind*, i.e. senior of Leath-Chuinn, or northern half of Ireland. He was evidently the Idunan, Bishop of Meath, given in Harris's Edition of Ware's *Bishops*, p. 140, as having flourished in the year 1096." (*Notes to Four Masters*, at A.D. 1117.) The Four Masters, we have seen, call him "Noble Senior of Ireland;" and again, in mentioning his death, "Head of the clergy of Ireland," (at A.D. 1117;) while those of Innisfallen make him "archbishop of Ireland;" and he "possibly may be the same," Ware thinks, "whom the *Annals of Conaught* call *Maier O'Dunan*, Archbishop of Cashel." (*Bishops*, at *Census*, p. 52.) But however uncertain his claim to this latter title, he was unquestionably a person of much importance and influence in the Irish Church in his day; as, in the first establishing of an episcopal See at Waterford, we find him appearing as one of the principal parties concerned in promoting such an arrangement, in conjunction with king Murtoogh O'Brien, &c. These parties having elected one Malchus Bishop of Waterford, sent him over (A.D. 1096) to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to receive consecration at his hands, with a Letter Commendatory, (to be given in full hereafter), the signatures to which run thus: "Subscribed by me, Murtoogh, king of Ireland. Subscribed by me, Duke Dermot, brother to the king. Subscribed by me, Donald, bishop. Subscribed by me, Idunan, Bishop of Meath. Subscribed by me, Samuel, Bishop of Dublin. Subscribed by me, Ferdornach, Bishop of the Lagenians, [or Leinster men,] &c." The first bishop here named was the "*Donell O'Hena*, Archbishop of West Europe," of the *Annals of Ulster*, (already mentioned at p. 16, *sup.*) next after whom comes Idunan, or O'Dunan, who was one of the leading men at the Synod of *Fiadh-mhic-Aengusa* also. This O'Dunan, therefore, was certainly Bishop of Meath in A.D. 1096. But that he ever became Archbishop of Cashel, remains not sufficiently proved. Ware, indeed, mentions him as one of the early prelates of that See; but adds, without stating on what authority, that he "*died at Clonard*, [Co. Meath,] on the 24th of December, 1118, in the 77th year of his age." (*Bishops*, p. 467.)

As there is, then, no certainty that O'Dunan was ever Archbishop of Cashel, so there is no reason to assign to the Synod of Rath-Breasil so late a date as A.D. 1118, or to transpose it from the year 1110, assigned by Keating, with a view to allowing O'Dunan's death to precede it, and "Maelisa O'Hainmire" to follow, by an orderly succession, as "Archbishop of Cashel." It seems doubtful, indeed, whether there was ever any such archbishop as this latter. The *Four Masters* have, in their *Annals*, at A.D. 1131, the death of "*Maelisa O'Foley*, Archbishop of Cashel," and at A.D. 1135, that of "*Maelisa O'Hainmire*, Bishop of Waterford, and Chief Senior of the Irish;" and it would seem to have been by some confusion of the two names that Keating has gotten Maelisa O'Hainmire as Archbishop of Cashel. Lanigan attempts to solve this difficulty by describing the individual who assisted at the Council of Rath-Breasil as "*Moelisa Mac-Ainmhire*, alias O'Foghlada, [i.e. 'Foley,'] archbishop of Cashel, and successor of Moelmurry O'Dunain;" adding in a note, (*Ec. Hist.* IV. 48,) that "He was the son of one Ainmhire, of a family surnamed O'Foghlada." But this is an unauthorised alteration of the ancient records concerned, which nowhere call the person in question Mac-Ainmhire, but O'Hainmire; nor does there appear to be any proof that the individual so named belonged to the O'Foghlada race at all.

In fact, where the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and the interpolated Dublin copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen*, call Maelisa O'Foley, Archbishop of Cashel, they appear to be rather setting forth the ideas of their compilers, as to the state of things which ought to have immediately followed the Synod of Rath-Breasil, than the real state of matters historically subsequent to that meeting; for the *Annals of Ulster*, in the obit of Maelisa O'Foley, make him simply "*Bishop of Cashel*." (At A.D. 1131.) The truth is, that whatever the intentions of the divines assembled at Rath-Breasil as to the future church government of their country may have been, their arrangements were far from being carried out, as laid down in the record of their meeting.

In connection with this topic, Dr. Lanigan observes as follows:—

"On looking over the boundaries marked for those dioceses, [in the Synod of Rath-Breasil,] a very great part of which can scarcely be pointed out at present on account of the changes of names, it is clear that the Synod intended, besides reducing the number of sees, to render all the dioceses of Ireland nearly of equal extent; but it did not succeed, at least to any considerable degree, in reducing the number; whereas, [i.e. since] we find at the time of the council of Kells, in 1152, many more sees than those here laid down, and, on the other hand, some of said 24 sees not even spoken of, as if, notwithstanding the decree of Rath-Breasil, they had either not been established, or had in a very short time ceased to exist."

On the whole, while the accounts remaining to us of the Church Synods, or Synod, held in Ireland in A.D. 1110, or 1111, or in both years, are in some respects unsatisfactory, and encumbered with chronological and other difficulties, we have yet every reason to regard them, in their general features, as substantially correct and authentic, and so far, at least, valuable, as putting us, to a certain extent, in possession of information as to the instrumentality whereby a great change in the constitution of our national church,—(a change the actual occurrence of which is borne witness to by her ancient records generally,) was effected. For, however unsuccessful the Synod of Rathbreasil may have been in regard to the precise manner and form in which its objects were designed to have been carried out, it was certainly most successful as a first step towards the introduction of a regular diocesan episcopacy into this country,—a consummation which followed rapidly, as the result of the conclusions arrived at by its members.

A very active patron of the church and clergy in those days, and an energetic promoter of the measures then adopted for improving the state of ecclesiastical discipline, and strengthening church interests in Ireland, as well as increasing communication and connection with the church abroad, was "Murtoogh O'Brien, king of Ireland," as he signs himself in the document above cited. He was in truth, however, sovereign, properly, only of Leath-Mogha, or the Southern half of Ireland, and for a time perhaps, of Connaught; while Donnell O'Lochlainn, (one of the O'Neills of the North,) held the sovereignty of Leath-Chuinn, and styled himself also king of Ireland. In the constant wars between these rival princes, in the course of which each gained occasionally more or less on the territories under subjection to the other, the clergy occupied a neutral position, and on different occasions acted, under the Coarb of Patrick, and their other chief dignitaries, as mediators of peace between the rival parties. Murtoogh, we have seen, even when on a military expedition against the monarch of the North, was able to visit the church of Armagh in peace, and communicate with its clergy, leaving behind valuable offerings, and promising others beside. And the Coarb of Patrick was able to return his visits, by "great circuits" into Munster, not however to leave gifts and offerings behind him there, but to bring away with him what he could secure, and to obtain, if possible, "his full demand."

The munificent liberality displayed by king Murtoth O'Brien and others of his family toward the Church, and the active zeal exhibited by him in promoting her interests, could hardly fail to render him popular among the clergy generally, and to win for him a cordial good feeling from the Coarb of Patrick and other ecclesiastics of the North, as well as from those of his own "Half" of Ireland: a good feeling found no doubt of substantial value on those occasions especially, when the Coarb's mediation was employed in arranging terms of peace between the rival princes of the North and the South in their wars.* Murtoth's activity in ecclesiastical matters, combined with his close conjunction with Gille, the pope's Legate, Bishop of his city of Limerick, combined also with the circumstance that those active church reformers of his day, the bishops of the Danish cities, were all resident in his part of Ireland, will account for the fact of the Synod of Rath-Breasil having been held in the South, rather than at any place in the North, and also for the fact, (supposing the views above suggested, as to the identity of this synod with that of Fiadh-mac-Aengusa, to be correct,) that in our Annals the nobility of *Leath-Mogha*, or of *Munster*, are particularly noticed as having favored the Synod with their presence.

It may be worth adding, concerning king Murtoth, that his earnest zeal in the cause of the Church arose from feelings planted, probably, in great measure, by maternal training. "His mother," says Keating, (p. 82 *sup.*) "was a (*cailliock De*) religious woman [or, one that made a profession of religion,] daughter to O'Heney": and she is also one of the comparatively few females whose obits are entered in the Irish Annals. At A.D. 1098, the Four Masters have, "Dervorilla, daughter of Teigue, son of Gillapatrik, mother of Murtoth and Teigue O'Brien, died at *Glendalagh*." She was evidently of some distinction as a religious character.

Resuming now, after this rather long digression, our history of the Coarbs of Patrick in Armagh, as contained in the Annals of the Four Masters, we find at A.C. 1112 the entry which next follows:—

A.C. 1112. "The Rath of Armagh, with its church, was burned on the 10th of the Calends of April, and two streets of the *Trian Massan*, and the third street of the *Trian-Mhor*."

A.C. 1113. "Flannagan, son of Maelisa, intended Abbot of Armagh, died after unction and after choice penitence. . . . Diarmaid O'Longain, Steward of Munster, died, the night of Patrick's Festival." . . . [Donnell O'Lachlainn, supported by the nobles of Kinel-Connel, Kinel-Owen, and Oriel, having deposed from his sovereignty Donogh, king of Ulidia,] "an expedition was made by Murtoth O'Brien, with the men of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, to Moycova, to support Donogh. An [other] expedition was thereupon made by Donnell O'Lochlainn, with the forces already mentioned, to Moycova, to support the Ulidians. So that there was a challenging of battle between them, until Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, parted them on terms of peace and agreement. . . .

"[But] an expedition was [again] made by Murtoth O'Brien and [the men of] *Leath-Mhogha*, *lay and clergy*, to Greenoge. Donnell, son of Mac Lochlainn, came also to Clonkeen Feros, whereupon they were for a month confronting one another, until Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, with the *Bachall-Isa*, made a year's peace between them."

[*Greenoge* is now a townland with a curious moat, in a parish of the same name, barony of Ratoath, Co. Meath. And *Clonkeen-Feros* is now Clonkeen, barony of Ardee, Co. Louth.]

A.C. 1116. "Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, [went] on a visitation [circuit] of Connaught the second time, and obtained his full visitation [tribute]. . . . The great House of the Abbots at Armagh, with twenty houses adjoining, were burned in the beginning of Lent this year."

A.C. 1117. "Maolmuire O'Dunan, Archbishop of Munster, Head of the Clergy of Ireland, and lord of almsgiving for the West of Europe, died in the 77th year of his age, on the 9th of the *Kal. Januarii*."

In the *Annals of Ulster* his title is, "Maolmuire O'Dunan, chief bushop of the Irish, and head of Ireland's clergy, and over laetys for almes of all the world." (*Old Translation, Cod. Clár.*)

At A.D. 1118, the Ulster Annals include this entry, omitted by the *Four Masters*:—

"A.D. 1118. *To the value of 100 ounces of Mass instruments of Kellagh, Comarba of Patricke, was drowned in Davall, and he escaped hardly himself.*"

A.C. 1120. "An expedition was made into Meath by Turlogh O'Conor, who expelled Murrogh O'Maeleachlainn into the North; on which occasion the latter took his hostages with him, under the protection of the Coarb of Patrick and the *Bachall-Isa*."

"Kellach, Coarb of Patrick [went] on a visitation tour through Munster the second time, and obtained his full demand, and left [the people there] his blessing."

A.C. 1121. "Samuel O'Hangly, Bishop of Dublin, died: and Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, succeeded to the bishopric of Dublin by choice of the Gall and the Gael, [pronounced, 'Gawl'; and, 'Gay-al'; i.e. Irish and Foreign residents, the latter being the Danes, &c.] . . .

"Two streets of the *Trian Massan* in Armagh burned, from the Rath-gate to Brigid's Cross."

It does not appear from any historical testimony, that Kellach, or Celsus, Primate of Armagh, ever actually governed the See of Dublin. It is plain, however, from the curious entry, connected with the subject, which has been just cited, that an attempt was made, on the death of Bishop O'Hangly, or O'Haingly, (on July 4, 1121.) to effect a separation of the latter see from any further dependence on Canterbury; although such attempt was not immediately successful. On the circumstances in question, Dr. Lanigan, (Ec. Hist. iv. 45, 46,) makes the observations which follow:—

"It is not easy to understand what is meant by the appointment of Celsus to the see of Dublin; for surely it cannot be supposed, that he intended to become a pluralist. The probability is, that on the death of Samuel, he wished to bring that see under his jurisdiction, and that his views were favoured by a part of the clergy and people, who applied to him to take upon himself the administration of the diocese, until matters could be properly arranged. Anselm of Canterbury, for whom the Irish prelates entertained great respect, was dead since the year 1109; and it was now thought full time to put an end to the jurisdiction of Canterbury over any part of Ireland. Waterford and Limerick had been already, by the decree of Rathbreasil, placed under the archbishop of Cashel, and the Irish bishops, particularly Celsus, considered it very unbecoming, that the church of Dublin should remain separated from the body of the Irish hierarchy. Whether Celsus actually governed the See of Dublin for some time in consequence of said appointment, however it may be understood, I am not able to ascertain; but the fact is, that a majority of the burgesses and clergy of the city opposed his plan, and elected Gregory, who was as yet not a deacon, for their bishop. They sent him to England with a letter directed to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, from which it appears, that there had been a contest relative to the dependence of Dublin on that see." [In proof of these statements Dr. Lanigan then refers to that letter of the Burgesses of Dublin, of which a passage has been already cited at p. 9 *sup.* Gregory was accordingly consecrated Bishop of Dublin, at Lambeth, on October 2, 1121. (See *Wars*.)]

It must, however, be observed, that although the Rathbreasil Synod had subjected Limerick and Waterford to Cashel, as Dr. L. states, yet, as he adds in a note, "the Danes of Limerick succeeded, after Gillebert's death, in opposition to that decree, in getting their bishops consecrated at Canterbury;" thus giving another evidence how little the Rathbreasil decrees were followed with any strict obedience on the part of those most concerned in them.

A.C. 1122. "Maolcoluim O'Brolchan, Bishop of Armagh, died on his pilgrimage in the Desert, [or, 'Hermitage,'] of Derry, after the victory of martyrdom and penitence." [i.e. penitent for his sins, and triumphant over sufferings which he bore with the spirit of a martyr. B.K.]

A.C. 1124. "S. Malachy O'Morgair sits in the bishopric of Connor."

A.C. 1125. "On Friday, the Fifth of the Ides of January, the roof was raised on the great Duleek [or, 'Stone Church'] of Armagh, after its having been fully covered with shingles by Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, a hundred and thirty years from the time of its last having had a complete roof before."

The 130 years here mentioned seem to refer to A.D. 890, (or perhaps 893,) when Armagh was ravaged by foreign invaders: since which time the principal church there, it seems, had lain partly in a state of dilapidation, until restored by Kellach.

A.C. 1126. "The Duleek of the Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul in Armagh, erected by Ivar O'Hegan, was consecrated by Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, the 12th of the Calends of November. . . .

* Such conduct as that attributed to Murtoth by the Four Masters at A.D. 1111, above, where they speak of his having instigated some of his people to plunder Clonmacnoise, &c., &c., could hardly have been connected with a wish on his part to injure or spoil the Church. It rather originated, probably, in some personal quarrel between him and the objects of his violence; perhaps in their having opposed some plan of his for alterations in regard to matters ecclesiastical in Ireland.

"A great storm of war [kept raging] in Ireland generally; insomuch that Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, was obliged to be absent a year and a month from Armagh, making peace among the men of Ireland, and establishing regulations for promoting order and good conduct among all classes, whether of laity or clergy."

The site of the *Regles*, or Abbey, of SS. Peter and Paul, erected by Ivar O'Hegan, belongs in modern times to a presbyterian place of worship: but in the name (Abbey-Street,) of the adjoining thoroughfare is still preserved the memory of the older building which stood once in the same locality. Speaking of the buildings erected by Ivar O'Hegan, Mr. Stuart says, (A.D. 1819,) "Some parts of them still exist, and were lately inhabited by Mr. John Richardson. The materials of the remainder were used in the year 1722 in building the Presbyterian Meeting-house." (*Hist. Memoirs of Armagh*, p. 95.)

A.C. 1128. "A defeat given at Ardee, by the cavalry of Conor, son of Mac Lochlainn, to the cavalry of Tiernan O'Ruark, when O'Keary, Lord of Carbery, Cathal O'Reilly, Sitric O'Melbride, a son of Hugh O'Dowda, Lord of Tyrwley, and many others along with them, were slain in revenge for a violation of Patrick's protection."

"A year's peace was made by Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, between the Connacians, [or, Connaught people,] and the men of Munster."

The *Four Masters* have, perhaps intentionally, as Dr. O'Donovan suggests, omitted to give us any hint as to the nature of the outrage committed in defiance of "Patrick's Protection," which is above alluded to by them. But the *Annals of Ulster* are a little more communicative on the subject, in connection with which they furnish the following recital:—

"A.D. 1128. An overthrow [was given] by the horsemen of Conor Mac Leghlin on the horsemen of Tiernan O'Roirk, where fell O'Ciarra, king of Carbery, and Cathal O'Rogelly, and Sitrick O'Moelbride, and Hugh O'Duuday, king of O-Namalg, et alii multi. [i.e. 'and many others.']"

"A most filthy act, that deserved the curse of all Ireland, both spiritual and temporall [i.e. both lay and clerical persons,] that the like was never seen in Ireland, [was] committed by Tiernan O'Roirk and the O'Briuius. The Coarb of Patrick, with his company, was robbed, and some of them killed, and one of his own clergy among them. The hurt that came of this evil act [is] that there is no safty in Ireland from thenceforth until this evil deed be revenged by God and man. This dishonor given to the Coarb of Patrick is all one and to dishonor God, for God himself said in the Gospel: 'qui vos spernit me spernit, et qui me spernit spernit eum qui me misit.' [i.e. 'Whoso despiseth you despiseth me, and whoso despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.']"

"An army [was led] by Manus and the men of Fernmoy, [i.e. Farney, Co. Monaghan,] to Tir-Briuin, and brought great booties. Tiernan, with I-Briuin and many others, overtook them at Ardy, [Ardee,] where they gave battle, and Tiernan and his I-Briuin were put to flight, and three or four hundred of them were, as a beginning, killed through Patrick."

The I-Briuin [pronounced, 'Ibrooin,'] or Hy-Briuin, or O'Briuius, were the people of West Brefny, (Co. Cavan,) called also Tir-Briuin, or the O'Briuin's Country, of which Tiernan O'Ruark was at this time prince. Having no particular information supplied us as to the occasion of his murderous assault on the Coarb of Patrick and his Congregation, we can only conjecture that it may have arisen from an attempt made by the latter to secure their "full demand" from the people of that part of Ireland, an arrangement to which O'Ruark may have had naturally some disinclination to consent.

A.C. 1129. [At this year the *Four Masters* notice the robbing of a quantity of plate and valuables from the altar of the great *Duleek* or principal church at Clonmacnoise, including a Model of Solomon's Temple presented by Malachy the Great, king of Ireland, who died, A.D. 1022. Of the other precious articles carried off on the same occasion, the last mentioned is] "the silver cup of Kellach, Coarb of Patrick...."

"Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, son of virginity, and archbishop of the West of Europe,—the one to whom alone the Gall and the Gael, the laity and clergy, of Ireland [alike] acknowledged obedience, after having ordained bishops, priests, and persons of every degree generally,—after having consecrated churches and burial places very numerous,—after exercise of munificent liberality in regard to property and valuables,—after having introduced regulations for conduct, and rules for the reform of manners, applicable both to laity and clergy,—after a life of fasting and prayer, of celebration [of divine offices] and offerings,—after unction, and after exemplary penitence,—breathed forth his spirit to heaven at Ardpatrik in Munster, on the first day of April, on Monday precisely, in the fiftieth year of his age. His body was conveyed for interment to Lismore-Mochuda, [i.e. Lismore,] on the Wednesday following, in accordance with his own will; where, after a wake, celebrated with Psalms, and Hymns, and Canticles, it was buried honorably on the next day, Thursday, in the tomb of the bishops. After which, Murtoth, son of Donnell, was appointed to the Coarship of Patrick."

From the statement that Kellach died in 1129, in the 50th year of his age, compared with that above, which assigns his promotion to the Coarship to the Autumn of A.D. 1105, it appears that he could have been only in his 27th year when advanced to the high dignity of Coarb: "possibly," says Harris, "the youngest bishop that ever sat in Ireland." Ardpatrik, where he died, is near Kilfinnan, to the south of Kimallock, in the present county of Limerick. "By two inquisitions in the 39th of Queen Elizabeth, it was found that the hill named Ardpatrik, containing three acres of great measure, and making twenty-one acres of small measure, was in former times granted to the Corbship founded in the church of Ardpatrik, and that the rent of 6s. 8d. was paid annually thereout to the Bishop of Limerick; that the said office had continued by succession from time immemorial in the sept of the Langanes: and that Maurice Langane, who in right thereof enjoyed the said lands, was at that time the possessor." (*History of Limerick*, by Fitzgerald and M'Gregor, Vol. 1. pp. 888, 889.)

The account of Kellach's death given by the *Four Masters* accords very closely with that contained in the *Annals of Ulster*. Among the few variations which occur, it may be observed that the words "son of virginity," and "of celebration and offerings," are not in the latter. The *Ulster Annals* are also more particular in stating the date of Murtoth's accession to the Coarship, thus: "Murtagh mac Donnell chosen in Patrick's Coarship in *Non-April*;" i.e. on the Fifth of April, the very day after Kellach's burial at Lismore. Kellach died on Monday, at Ardpatrik. And so speedily did the news arrive at Armagh, even in those days of slow locomotion, and so promptly did the *Seniors of Armagh* act on it, that on the Friday following, their new Abbot was in possession of his dignity.

A most critical epoch in the history of the Primacy has now been arrived at. We have reached the close of those 600 (or more exactly 637) years from the death of St. Patrick, which form the more special subject of our study in this work: and the death of the Coarb Kellach, or, 'Primate Celsus,' brings us into immediate contact with the distinguished individual who was mainly instrumental in effecting the consummation of that change, (commenced already, and pretty far in progress too, during Kellach's own Coarship,) which reduced the Irish Church, from her ancient independence, to complete subordination to the Church of Rome; effacing, at the same time, to a considerable extent, those curious national characteristics and incongruities, whereby the form of Christianity had once been marked in this island, and separated so far in its character from that of the main body of the same community in other lands.

In pursuing this part of our subject, we are aided by a very curious record, altogether unlike in many respects to any other available for elucidating so early a period of our history, viz. *The Life of S. Malachy*, from the eloquent pen of the famous S. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. Malachy, or *Maolmogue*, twice visited the celebrated monastery of Clairvaux; and on those occasions Bernard learned from him a good deal concerning the state of the church in Ireland, as well as concerning all the circumstances of his own life: and from the account so furnished, as well as from his attendance on Maolmogue's dying hours, at Clairvaux, in 1148, aided probably by additional information derived from surviving friends of the one he had lost, the short narrative just mentioned was compiled by Bernard. It contains, for its size, a considerable amount of information on the ecclesiastical state of Ireland in that age, with some evidence of ignorance, also, on the subject; as was natural for one writing on so peculiar a topic, at such a distance. It contains various wonderful recitals of miracles alleged to have been wrought by St. Malachy, and supports, of course, throughout, the peculiar doctrines (so far as developed in

that age,) of the church of which S. Bernard was so distinguished a member. Maolmogue, for instance, is represented as upholding strongly the doctrine of transubstantiation, although not without earnest opposition from at least one clerical opponent. But on these topics we have no occasion to dwell here. Maolmogue was, it is enough to say, a cordial and active supporter of all that the Church of Rome then ordained or held. But our concern here is chiefly with those particulars in his life which are connected with the history of the Primacy; and of which the following condensed sketch, given, as far as brevity will allow, in Bernard's own words, will sufficiently suit our purpose in this Essay.

*Some Account of the Life of Maolmogue, (commonly called S. Malachy) O'Morgair, Primate of Armagh,
(A.D. 1134—1137), from St. Bernard, &c.*

According to the testimony of Bernard, and that of the *Four Masters*, Maolmogue O'Morgair died in A.D. 1148; in the 45th year of his age, according to the former; after completion of that year, according to the latter. He was born, therefore, probably, in the year 1095. His father, according to various Irish Annals (those of Innisfallen &c. See Lanigan, iv. 54,) was the eminent Muron O'Morgair, "Archlector of Armagh and of all the West of Europe," whose death has been already noticed at A.D. 1102, *sup.* Dr. Lanigan (p. 60, *ib.*) is at some needless pains to reconcile this fact with Bernard's statement that the parents of Malachy were of high rank and influence, arguing that *parentes*, the word used by Bernard, may signify, not parents, but, "*relatives or kinsfolk*," and that, at all events, a professor *might* be of a noble family; whereas we have seen already, that the office of *Airdheargheinn*, "Chief Lector," which Muron O'Morgair held, ranked in Armagh next to the Coarbship itself: (See at A.C. 1049, above,) while the Coarb's office was one for which princes of royal blood (see at A.D. 825,) thought it not beneath them to engage in fierce contests. Dr. Lanigan might well have found a greater difficulty in the circumstance of a divine so eminent in the church as Muron having any children at all; as Colgan appears to have done, who cautiously speaks of him as being only "a *relative* of St. Malachy." Colgan, it will be remembered (p. 27, *sup.*) makes the *Firleighinn Theological Professors*, and of course, clergymen. And that they were such at Armagh at the period now spoken of we can have little doubt. But this difficulty Lanigan evades, by declining to accept the explanation of the *Fearleighinn's* office given by Colgan (the more learned, undoubtedly, of the two, on such subjects,) and representing Muron rather as a professor of *general literature* than a divine. "I find," says he, "nothing to prove that he was an ecclesiastic; and he is stated to have been the father of the great St. Malachy, and of Christian, who became bishop of Clogher."

"His being styled chief lecturer both of Armagh and of all Western Europe, [as in the Annals of Ulster,] occurs likewise in the 4 Masters, a denomination which is often found in the Irish Annals, and under which not only Ireland was comprised, but likewise, at least sometimes, the whole of the British Islands, and perhaps some parts of the Continent. It does not mean in this case, that Murgon gave lectures throughout what was called Western Europe, but that he was the most distinguished of its lecturers. [See p. 16, *sup.*]

"Colgan makes him a professor of theology, as if there were no other professors than theological ones: but the Annals of Innisfallen [or at least their translation,] call him professor of literature, while those of Ulster do not mark over what department he presided."—(Ec. Hist. iv. 52, 53, 54.)

The fact appears to be, that the *Fearleighinn*, or *Lector*, was the chief superintendent, in the monastic school, of those studies, which were there cultivated; and among which Theology, or the elements of the Christian religion, and especially a knowledge of the Word of God, held a first place, in those times at least, in Ireland. A professor in other particular branches was called 'a sage in history,' 'in languages,' &c. as the case might be.

Maolmogue signifies "the servant of Mogue," or of St. Aedan. For the word Mogue, signifying "my little Aedan," is only another form of the latter name, expressive of endearment and veneration, according to a mode of transforming names common in the Irish language. So Mo-cholmóc, or Mocholmogue, is used for St. Colman, &c., &c. The prefix *Maol*, or *Maol*, is very common in Irish names, and seems employed in token of humility, instead of the adoption of the names of the saints themselves, with which it is combined, by those who used it. So we have *Maolmuire*, "Servant of Mary," *Maolisa*, "Servant of Jesus," *Maolpatrick*, "Servant of Patrick," &c. For, to the period of which we are now writing, no Irishman was ever called in his own tongue *Patrick* simply: that name being reserved for the designation of the Saints who had borne it, exclusively. On a similar principle, a Christian of this day would not object to giving his child a name signifying "Servant of Jesus," but would yet refrain from so employing that form of appellation which had been borne by our Lord himself; although the name has been applied in other times, and even with apostolic sanction, to individuals among His Servants also. (See *Colos.* iv. ii. *Heb.* iv. 8.)

But to proceed with Maolmogue's Life. Although not precisely informed of his birthplace, it was most probably in Armagh, in which his father held so high a position, and in which Bernard says that Maolmogue himself was 'bred.' (*alitus*.) As he could have been but six or seven years old at the time of his father's death, no mention of the latter occurs in Bernard's work; while his mother's care in educating him is dwelt upon by that writer in terms of high commendation. The opening passage of the Life illustrates this. It reads as follows:—

"Our friend Malachy, born in Ireland, in the midst of a barbarous population, was there brought up, and there instructed in letters. But from the barbarous clime that gave him birth he derived no part of his character,—no more than the fishes of the sea from their native brine. And how delightful the thought, that the waste and barbarous land hath produced us one so well fitted to rank as a fellowcitizen of the saints, and as a member of the household of God. He that produces honey from the rock, and oil from the flinty stone, He it is that hath done this. His parents, however, were great in rank and influence, according to the estimation of them that are great on earth. But a mother, of mind more generous than her blood, made it her anxious care, at the very first stage of his career, to make known to her little one, the ways of Life, judging their knowledge to be of more consequence to him than any attainments to be arrived at in the unsatisfying range of secular learning. In neither of them however did he exhibit any deficiency of such progress as was suited to his years. In the schools he was receiving instruction in letters, at home in the fear of the Lord; and his daily advancement was such as proved answerable to the desires of both master and mother:—a mother from whose breast he was ever imbibing, as milk, the waters of salutary wisdom; thus becoming each day discreeter than the last." He was fond, we are told, even in childhood, of retirement and prayer; and was of such good abilities, and industrious and temperate habits, as enabled him to outstrip in progress all his class-fellows. As an instance of his early love for private and secret prayer, Bernard recites the anecdote following. "There is," he observes, "near the city in which the boy was attending to his learning, a village to which his master used often to repair, with him alone for company. And as they would be on their way thither, both of them together, he (as he mentioned afterwards,) would at times fall back a little, stay his pace, and standing behind his master, who was quite unconscious of the act, offer with outstretched hands towards heaven, a word or two of stealthful ejaculatory prayer: and thus, unnoticed by his master, join company with him again. Such was the stolen exercise of devotion that he would oft enjoy, unknown to the one that was at once his master and his companion."

As childhood gave place to youth, Maolmogue, anxious for more advanced instruction, became a pupil of the distinguished Ivar O'Hegan, founder of the Abbey Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Armagh, whose name we have met with at A.D. 1126 above. It occurs again at A.D. 1134, where we read of this Iomhar, (*pronounced*, Ivar,) or Imar, dying at Rome, *on pilgrimage*. From him, perhaps, Maolmogue first learned those lessons of attachment to the Church of Rome, which exercised so strong an influence afterwards on his own life, and also on the destinies, for succeeding ages, of the Irish Church. Of his connection with Ivar, Bernard says:—

"There was a man in the city of Armagh,—there it was that Malachy was bred,—and that man was holy, and of exceedingly austere life, an inexorable chastener of his body. Having a cell near the church, he made in it his abode, giving himself up to fastings and prayers night and day. To this man Malachy now repaired, in order to fashion his life according to the model of the one that had condemned himself to such a burying alive. . . . By the feet of Imar,—that was the person's name,—did the youth now take his seat, and either learn obedience, or give proof how far he had learned it already." His voluntarily placing himself, however, under the training of so rigid and austere a guide, excited no small talk and wonder in the town, considering that he had been so delicately reared, and accustomed to so much of luxury and comfort. Some admired his energy. Some doubted whether the fancy would last long. Some reflected on the rashness and presumption of such conduct in one of his juvenile standing. But the end of it was, that he not only remained steadfast to his purpose, but was eventually imitated by many others, who did likewise.

"And [now] it seemed to the Bishop [Kellach,] as well as to his master, that he was a suitable object for promotion to the order of deacon. And they compelled him [accordingly, to accept that office. . . . But] the ministry which he had entered on by compulsion, he attended to with devotedness, and labored at even to exhaustion. Whereupon they judged it meet to impose upon him the priestly office also. And this was accordingly done. And he was at the time of his being ordained priest, of the age of about twenty-five years." [i.e. five years earlier than the regular canonical time, which, however, Bernard considers to have been excusable under the peculiar circumstances of this case. Could Bernard have known that Kellach was a bishop at twenty-seven?]

"Nor was the Bishop [Kellach,] content herewith; but he further made him his own vicar, to sow the holy seed among a people far from holy, and give to a race of ignorant and lawless livers the law of life and instruction."

In this new capacity of vicar to the Coarb Kellaoh, Maolmogue, according to St. Bernard, exhibited great energy, repressing vice, "eradicating the barbaric rites [of the country,] planting those of the church" instead, abolishing many superstitions of old standing, and introducing reforms of every sort. Among other observations on his activity in this way, Bernard has these which follow:—

"Yea, moreover, he employed himself in establishing in all the churches the apostolic sanctions, [i.e. canons, or precedents,] and the decrees of the holy Fathers, and particularly the usages of the holy Church of Rome. And hence it is, that there is at this day chanting and singing in those churches at the canonical hours, according to the practice of all the world. For this was by no means the case before, not even in the city [of Armagh] itself. But he had learned singing in his youth, and presently after took care to have singing introduced in his own community, (*canobio*), when as yet there were not any persons, either in the city, or in the entire bishopric, that could, or would, sing. Then further, the invaluable practice of Confession, the Sacrament of Confirmation, the Marriage contract, all of them ordinances that were either unknown or disregarded [among the people,] Malachy reestablished anew. Of such improvements let the examples now given suffice; as, throughout the whole course of this narrative, we have to omit, for brevity's sake, many particulars."

While thus engaged, however, Maolmogue began to feel himself to be very deficient in a knowledge of church discipline and ritual matters: for the sake of improvement in which, therefore, he determined on visiting the South of Ireland, where studies of the kind were in a more advanced state of progress, and where he would be likely to obtain better aid in pursuing them, in consequence of the closer connection of that part of the country with England, and with the Continent of Europe. Concerning this part of his history Bernard writes as follows:—

"Feeling, as he did, a most lively and zealous interest in the improvement of Divine Worship, and in promoting a veneration for the Sacraments, and dreading at the same time lest he should introduce in connection with them any doctrine or practice not conformable to the ritual of the Universal Church, he began to entertain a desire to go and visit Bishop Malchus, to receive from him further instruction concerning all such matters. This individual was far advanced in age, full of days and of virtues, and the wisdom of God was in him. He was by nation indeed an Irishman, but had lived in the monastic habit and institute at Winchester Monastery, from which he had been brought over as bishop to Lismore, a city of Munster, and one of the most noble cities, too, of that realm. In that position, such was the grace bestowed on him from above, that he became of brilliant reputation, not for his life and doctrine only, but also as a worker of miracles insomuch that Scotsmen and Irish were flocking together to him, by all of whom he was greatly venerated, as a common father of them all. To him, therefore, Malachy, having first received father Umar's benediction, and the sanction of his bishop, now repaired: and arriving prosperously at his journey's end, met with a benign reception from the aged prelate: with whom he abode some years, that, by a stay of such long continuance, he might be able to derive more abundant profit from the experience of his veteran friend, knowing it to be written, that *with the aged is wisdom*."

The arrival of Maolmogue at Lismore took place, probably, about A.D. 1123. During his stay there he had the advantage of forming an intimate acquaintance with Cormac mac Carthy, king of Desmond, or South Munster, (Cork, &c.) which proved subsequently of no small value to him. Cormac having been, in A.D. 1127, deposed from his principality of Desmond, by Turlough O'Connor, king of Connaught, (who set up his brother Donogh Mac Carthy in his stead,) bore his lot with great patience, and betook himself to reside in retirement with Bishop Malchus at Lismore, as being of a religious disposition, and willing rather to resign his crown than run the risk of occasioning bloodshed by attempting to recover it. Refusing also to accept of any such distinctions as the bishop was disposed to bestow upon him in consideration of his rank, he contented himself with treatment and accommodation similar to what was provided for private persons, generally, in Malchus's establishment.—Maolmogue was appointed by the bishop spiritual instructor to Cormac, a circumstance which was the means of creating a very great mutual attachment between them both. After some time, however, Conor O'Brien, king of Thomond or North-Munster, (i.e. Clare), who had been king of all Munster, but now held the principality of Thomond as a tributary ruler under Turlough O'Connor, determined on shaking off the authority of the latter, in conjunction with the friends and supporters of Cormac Mac Carthy, and restoring Cormac to the throne of Desmond. Cormac, indeed, was very unwilling to enter into the plan, or consent to quitting his retreat; but at the urgent instance of his friends, Bishop Malchus and Maolmogue, who represented the step as quite essential for the country's welfare, he at length yielded, and was reinstated in his royal position, according to our Annals, in A.D. 1127, the same year in which he had been driven from the throne. The circumstances here noticed form a partial illustration of the nature of that "great storm of war throughout Ireland," mentioned at A.D. 1126 above, as causing more than a year's absence of the Coarb Kellaoh from Armagh; and they throw some light also on the statement, at A.D. 1128, of his having acted, in this latter year, as a mediator of peace between the men of Connaught and those of Munster.

To understand aright the important historical particulars upon which we are now entering, the reader will require to be put in possession of some circumstances connected with the origin and early history of the episcopal see of Lismore. The place was one that had attained to much distinction and fame from a very early period of Irish history; St. Carthach, or Mochuda, who is regarded as its patron, having founded a great religious establishment there about A.D. 638, and a church having seemingly existed in it even before that time; as we have, at A.D. 610 of the Four Masters, the Obit of a Neman, "Abbot of Lismore." That, however, may have been, as Dr. Lanigan thinks it was, another Lismore, perhaps the one among the Hebrides. In the old Latin *Life of St. Carthach*, its author speaks thus of the Lismore in Munster. "Eminent and holy is the city of Lismore and there are always abiding in it a multitude of holy men. For, from every part of Ireland, and not that only, but from England also, and Wales, do religious men flock to dwell there, and make it their place of departure to be with Christ." (Lan. ii. 355.) Were we to pay any attention to the wilder legends of St. Cataldus, who flourished as a teacher in the same place, in the middle of the 7th century, according to Dr. Lanigan, great numbers assembled to hear his [i.e. Cataldus's] lectures at Lismore, from France, England, Scotland, Germany, and other neighbouring territories." (Lan. iii. 126.) Between the age of Neman and the period at which we have now arrived, Abbots of Lismore are mentioned in some five and twenty places of the Annals. An *Erenach* of Lismore is mentioned at A.D. 1068. We read also of its *bishops*, and *anchorites*, and of *Coarbs of Mochuda* there, of its *Termon*, or church land, and its *Duleek*, or stone-church; and, to complete its character as a regular old Irish foundation, it was plundered and burned on various occasions between A.D. 831 and 1157. Notwithstanding, it still continued to subsist, and not only subsisted, but was, in the beginning of the twelfth century, a distinguished school of learning, and for ecclesiastical studies, the most famous in Ireland. Thither Maolmogue went from Armagh, when anxious to obtain the best assistance the country afforded in such studies; and although already a priest, found enough of occupation in them there to employ his active mind for some years, by way of preparation for new labors in the ministry. And who especially had gained for Lismore this high reputation? Bishop Malchus, of course: to whom, as Bernard says, the Scots and Irish were crowding in such numbers, and giving such earnest and respectful attention; whom he describes, moreover, as a worker of miracles. But who was Bishop Malchus, or what his early history? These particulars are worth a moment's attention.

Among those individuals who exercised influence in altering the old ecclesiastical constitution of Ireland at the beginning of the twelfth century, and helping, at the same time, to promote the subjugation of their native church to a foreign ecclesiastical power, the descendants of Brian Boru occupy a distinguished place: and among them none a more preeminent one than Murtoth O'Brien, the great lay patron and promoter of the Synod of Rathbreasail. On the death of Brian himself, the Sovereignty of Munster was contested between two of his sons, whose names were Teigue and Donogh. At the instigation of Donogh, Teigue was murdered in 1028; and the murderous Donogh succeeded afterwards in gaining sovereign power over all Leath-Mogha, of which he became king in 1026. He was, however, deposed in 1064; and subsequently went to Rome, and died there, as we have already seen, (p. 78 *sup*.) Turlooh, son of Teigue, then became king of Munster; and in the course of time, so extended his authority as to become chief king of all Ireland, about A.D. 1080. He died A.D. 1088, whereupon his son Murtoth, already mentioned, (who was accordingly great grandson of Brian Boru,) became king of Munster. After much fighting against various enemies, including his own brother Dermot O'Brien, Murtoth at length assumed (A.D. 1094,) the title of king of Ireland, (although in truth king only of the Southern Half,) while the same title was assumed by his northern rival, Donnell O'Lochlainn, also. The reign of Murtoth continued to A.D. 1114, when he became the victim of a wasting disease, under which he pined for near six years, and died in 1119. On his falling into this illness, he was deposed by his brother Dermot, who assumed the royal power, and retained it till 1120, the year of his death, when he was in his turn succeeded by his son, Conor O'Brien, king of Munster, already mentioned above.

The liberality of Murtoth O'Brien to the church is praised by the Irish Annalists highly, who record in particular the following as a notable instance of his generosity in support of the cause of religion in Ireland:—

A.C. 1101. "A convention of Leath-Mogha was held at Cashel, by Murtoth O'Brien, with the principal men of the laity and clergy, and Ua Dunain, that noble bishop and arch senior of Ireland, at their head, when Murtoth O'Brien made a grant, such as king never made before; namely, a grant of *Cashel of the Kings* to religious, without any claim of laymen upon it, but to the religious of Ireland in general." (*Four Masters*.)

Cashel contained, probably, at this time, 1. such buildings as belonged to the clergy, for public or private uses; 2. those in like manner belonging to the king:—and 3.—such as were tenanted by the dependents and retainers of either party. The above entry seems to imply, that the king resigned all for the use of the clergy and the church, and purposes connected with religion, without reservation of any rent or tribute from them. Keating more briefly says, "It was this Murtoth that presented Cashel to the Church, in honor of God and St. Patrick, and as an offering unto them." (p. 82 *sup*.)

Among the clerical persons who cooperated with Murtoth O'Brien in effecting those changes in the discipline of the Irish Church, which he was so instrumental in introducing, none appears to have been more active than the famous Maolmuire O'Dunain, who is spoken of as the

leading ecclesiastic at the assembly in Cashel just noticed. By the Irish Annalists he is mentioned with peculiar consideration, as a "noble bishop and arch-elder of Ireland," which is the more remarkable, considering their silence about so eminent a personage as the learned and able Gille, Pope's Legate for all Ireland. The Annalists evidently thought little of Gille as compared with Maolmuire O'Dunain; a circumstance which seems to favor the opinion, reasonable enough otherwise, that Gille, or Gillebert, was a foreigner. O'Dunain, or Ua Dunain, signifies *Dunan's grandson*, and it seems extremely probable, that his grandfather was no other than the only *Dunan mentioned in the Irish Annals*, viz. *Dunan*, first bishop of the Dublin Ostmen or Danes, or "of Dublin," as he is usually called, who occupied that See in 1038, and whose death is noticed by the Four Masters at A.D. 1074. Such an origin would account well for the character displayed, and the position occupied, in after life, by O'Dunain; as nothing could agree much better than the relationship here supposed, with the ages in which the two persons concerned respectively flourished.

This O'Dunain, then, was Murtoth's great coadjutor in his plans for the reform of the Irish church; and so early as the year 1006 we find them engaged in promoting together one of the steps adopted with this end in view, and providing, even then, for one place in Murtoth's dominions, that form of church government which at the Synod of Rathbreasail was enacted for the whole of Ireland. Murtoth's kingdom of Munster consisting of the two parts, Thomond, or North Munster, with its capital at Limerick, and Desmond, or South Munster, with Waterford for its principal port, arrangements were made in Murtoth's time, for placing a regular diocesan prelate in each, several years before the Synod in question. And the two individuals chosen to fill, in the two cases, the high office referred to, were men of a like stamp in those respects which affected most their official character. Malchus, bishop of Waterford, had been imbued with the principles of the Roman church theology of that day at the monastery of Winchester in England, and Gille of Limerick was not less well informed in the same, nor less energetic in propagating them. He appears, as above suggested, to have been a foreigner, and to have been educated at or near Rouen in Normandy, although Dr. Lanigan thinks that he was probably an Irishman, and that the acquaintance which he formed at Rouen with Anselm, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was made merely on occasion of his travelling in that country.

With regard to Malchus, however:—Murtoth O'Brien and his friend O'Dunain having determined to provide Waterford with a bishop whose orders should be of a strictly canonical character, and in no way impregnated with any of the schismatical element with which their native communion appeared to be chargeable in the eyes of Roman churchmen, Malchus, this monk of Winchester, was accordingly selected for the situation, and sent over to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, with a curious Letter Testimonial, which, translated from the Latin original, reads as follows:—

"To Anselm, by the Grace of God, Archbishop of the English, and to all the Bishops of his Diocese, the Clergy and People of the town of Waterford, with king Murtoth, and Bishop Donald, Greeting in the Lord."

"Holy Father, the blindness of ignorance hath long constrained us to bear with a state of things detrimental to our salvation, in that we chose rather to withdraw our necks, in servile spirit, from the yoke of the Lord, than to render to Pastors that obedience which freemen may. We have now, however, learned to know the value of the Pastor's care, from reflecting on the analogy subsisting between it and other things. For without government no army can venture to face the dangers of war,—no ship the perils of the deep. And how then shall our frail bark, exposed to the billows of the world, be able, without a pastor, to fight against our wily adversary?"

"We, therefore, and our king Murtoth, and Bishop Donald, and Dermot our Duke, brother to the king, have made choice of this presbyter Malchus, a monk of Walkeline, Bishop of Winchester, who is sufficiently known to us as of noble birth and character, well skilled in the Apostolic and Ecclesiastical discipline, in faith a Catholic, prudent, docile, patient, in disposition a man of moderation, of chaste life, sober, humble, affable, merciful, acquainted with Letters, learned in the Law of God, cautious in the interpreting of Scripture, hospitable, modest, one that ruleth well his own house, not a novice, having a good testimony in each of the orders [in which he hath already officiated.] Him we desire to have ordained by thee, Father, for our Pontiff, that he may be able in regular order to preside over us, and promote our improvement, and that we, under his rule, may be able to act our part serviceably in the warfare of the Lord. And that thou mayest know that all our wishes are unanimous in this election, we have with most cordial readiness given our sanction to this Canonical decree, by signing it individually with our own hands.

"Subscribed by me, Murtoth, king of Ireland.

"Subscribed by me, Dermot, Duke, and brother to the King.

"Subscribed by me, Bishop Donald.

"Subscribed by me, Idunán, Bishop of Meath.

"Subscribed by me, Samuel, Bishop of Dublin.

"Subscribed by me, Ferdonnach, Bishop of the Leinstermen."

This is certainly a most curious document. It brings before us no less than four Irish bishops apparently admitting that the orders of the Irish Church were in some sense imperfect, and stood in need of resuscitation from a foreign source, to supply what was lacking in them, and revive their exhausted virtue. Or else, why not ordain Malchus themselves? But the fact was, that according to the Anglo-Roman ideas then acted on, the only one apparently of the four whose consecration could be regarded as altogether canonical and satisfactory, was Samuel of Dublin; who had, however, no authority given him from abroad, whereby he could regularly consecrate other bishops in this country. Was it any wonder that the Bishops of Ireland, generally, should entertain a feeling of deep jealousy at proceedings that reflected so discreditably on the character of their native episcopate?

With regard to the parties who signed this letter, a few particulars may properly be noticed here. The first was the famous king Murtoth O'Brien, of whom we have said so much already. In his realm of Leath-Mogha, (for his calling himself "of Ireland" is no proof that he was actual sovereign of the North, which, we have seen, was subject to a different sovereign, Donnell O'Lochlainn,) were included the three Danish cities, of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, the first cities of Ireland which had any regular successions of bishops duly appointed. Three such prelates had already occupied the See of Dublin. The first of them, *Dunan*, already mentioned, who by Latin writers is called *Donatus*, had for patron Sitric, the Danish king of Dublin, and occupied the see from 1038 to 1074. The Second, Patrick, was elected "by the clergy and people of Dublin," with the sanction of Gothric, its Danish prince, and his superior, Turlogh O'Brien, (Murtoth's father,) "King of Ireland." And after he had presided from 1074 to 1084, Donat O'Haingy, the third bishop, had been "elected by Turlogh, and the clergy, and people of Dublin." Of Samuel, the fourth bishop of Dublin, more presently. Anselm, the famous primate of England abovementioned, corresponded with Murtoth on the state of religion in his kingdom, and wrote him letters, which are still extant, for its improvement. These, it may be remembered, we have already found occasion to refer to in a former page. (See p. 10. *sup.*, at foot. Ware, *Bishops of Dublin. Ushers' Sylloge, Nos.* 25, &c. Lanigan iii., 482, &c.)

Dermot, the second signer of the above address to Anselm, was brother to Murtoth, and father to Conor, O'Brien, of whom we have had mention already. He was, it appears, governor of Waterford at the time when Malchus was appointed Bishop there, having submitted to his brother Murtoth in 1093, when the two brothers pledged themselves by the most solemn oaths to remain thenceforth at peace with one another.

Bishop Donald was a very eminent prelate of those times, and one of Murtoth's own clansmen, the Dalcassians of Clare. His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters in their Annals at A.D. 1098. "Donnell O'Heney, i.e. of the Dalcassians, chief spiritual adviser (*ardnamchara*) and noble Bishop, Head of wisdom and piety among the Gael, a Fountain of Charity for Western Europe, alike skilled in both Rituals, the Roman and that of the Gael, ended his life on the Calends of December, [i.e. Dec. 1.] Seventy and six years old was he when he breathed forth his spirit." In the interpolated Annals of Innisfallen he is called *Archbishop of Cashel*; and in those of Ulster in the British Museum, *Archbishop of West Europe*. It is, however, unlikely that there was any such archbishoprick as that of West Europe, or of Cashel, in his time; and he was more probably *Bishop at large* in King Murtoth's realm, and the leading ecclesiastical adviser of that prince. Dr. Lanigan, indeed, considers him to have been *Archbishop of Cashel*, and that Maolmuire O'Dunain was his successor in that dignity. But as there is no more certain foundation for the belief that O'Dunain ever lived at Cashel, or was Archbishop there, than exists in O'Heney's own case for a like opinion, it seems not improbable, that if Bishop Donald had any successor, it was the famous Gille of Limerick; for whose promotion to the office of chief prelate among the Dalcassians, the removal of Donald, or Donnell, (for they both, as well as 'Daniel' also, are used as translations of the same Irish name, *Domhnall*), may have made way.

Bishop Donald corresponded with Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, on subjects connected with religion and literature; (such as *infant communion*, &c.,) and there is yet extant a letter to him from Lanfranc, on matters of the kind, of the date A.D. 1081. It is of such length as might fill an average half page of this Essay, and would have been longer, only that, as the writer says, Donald's messenger could not be prevailed upon to delay with him for a more leisurely communication. The contents are of no importance to us at present. Anselm, successor to Lanfranc, wrote also "to the Senior Donald, and the rest of those honored in the island of Ireland with the dignity of Pontiff," (i.e. Bishop,) a letter of somewhat similar length, in A.D. 1095, which is still extant, and in which he gives an account of his elevation to the English primacy, and of the anxieties in which he had become involved thereby; asking withal the favor of their prayers. Nor does he close without giving them some exhortations for the guidance of their own conduct, with offers of aid in any ecclesiastical matters, in which they should think proper to apply for it. "Should there ever," says he, "arise any case among you connected with our holy religion, (whether appertaining to consecrations of

Bishops, or proceedings in causes Ecclesiastical, or any other matters whatsoever,) wherein you cannot yourselves arrive at a canonical conclusion, we recommend you, that, as an exercise of the office of charity, it be brought before our notice, that you may receive counsel and solace at our hands, rather than incur the judgment of God, by going astray from the path of his commandments." Donald was 72 years old when this letter was written, so that we need not wonder at his being called a *Senior* in the title of it. It is needless to speculate on the possibility of Donald, Coarb of Patrick, having been the one to whom this letter of Anselm's was addressed. Dr. Lanigan, who suggests the idea, is no doubt right in rejecting it. Donald O'Heney, he observes, "was undoubtedly better known to Anselm than Donald of Armagh; and Anselm seems to have been very little acquainted with either the ecclesiastical or civil state of Ireland, except as far as regarded Murtoth's kingdom." (*Ec. Hist.* iv. 18, and Ussher's *Sylloge*, Nos. 28 and 33.) In was, in fact, in Murtoth's kingdom that the plan was organised for bringing the Irish church into conformity of discipline and ritual with the church of Rome. In Leath-Mogha the work was done:—while the prelates and princes of the North rendered, with few exceptions, a comparatively cold and feeble aid to the project adopted for the denationalizing of their old ecclesiastical system.

Concerning *Iduman, Bishop of Meath*, whose name comes fourth among the signatures to Malchus's testimonial, we have said enough already. The next in the list is *Samuel, Bishop of Dublin*; of whose appointment and consecration the following account is furnished by an ancient writer, Eadmer:—"In the year 1095," says he, "there came to Anselm a certain monk of the monastery of St. Alban's, an Irishman, named Samuel. Upon the death of Donatus of happy memory, bishop of the city of Dublin, he was elected by the king of Ireland, named Muirterdach, [or Murtoth, i.e. M. O'Brien,] and the clergy and people, to the bishopric of that city, and by their common decree directed, according to old custom, to Anselm, to be consecrated by him. Anselm, acquiescing in their election and petition, detained the man with himself honorably for some time, instructing him diligently how he ought to conduct himself in the house of God; and then, having received from him his profession of canonical obedience, according to old custom, promoted him to the episcopal office, at Winchester, on the octave of the following Easter, four of his suffragan bishops assisting him in this office." (*Lanigan* iv. 12, and Ussher's *Sylloge*.) Samuel, however, notwithstanding the care observed in his appointment, seems to have made but an indifferent bishop; as Anselm had occasion to write afterwards, reproving him for pride and ostentation, for illtreatment of the subordinate ministers of his church, and for disposing improperly of books, vestments, and church-ornaments, given by Anselm's predecessor, Lanfranc, to the preceding bishop of Dublin, (Donatus the second, or Donat O'Haingly, uncle to this Samuel O'Haingly,) not for his own private use or possession, but to be the property of his church. This letter was written after Malchus had been established in the See of Waterford, as it was directed to him as Bishop of Waterford, with a request that he would in person deliver it to Samuel.

The obit of *Ferdomnach, Bishop of Kildare*, is given in the Annals of Ulster, and by the Four Masters, at A.D. 1101. It is curious, however, to observe, that while he subscribes himself, in A.D. 1096, "Bishop of the Leinstermen," (*Episcopus Laginiensium*) as we have seen, the authorities just cited call him simply *Bishop of Kildare*, while they very distinctly assign the more expansive title to a different personage, that flourished at the same period, viz., Maelbrighde O'Brolchain. His obit is thus entered in the Annals of the Four Masters. A.D. 1097. "Maelbrighde Mac-an-tsaer Ua Brolchain, a learned sage, and Bishop of Kildare, and of the Province of Leinster, died." By the Annals of Ulster Maelbrighde is in like manner styled "Archpriest or Bishop of Kildare and all Leinster." Dr. Lanigan (iii. 452,) imagines that Ferdomnach may have "resigned the see" in A.D. 1096, so as to make room for O'Brolchain. But this appears not very highly probable. "Aedh Ua Heremhoin [or Hugh Irwin,] Bishop of Kildare," whose obit occurs at A.D. 1100 of the Four Masters, was another cotemporary prelate of the same see with Ferdomnach. See p. 6, *sup.* l. 10, from foot.

Dr. Lanigan is of opinion, that besides those of the persons now mentioned, "There were several other signatures, which are not come down to us," (*Ec. Hist.* iv. 16,) appended to the letter testimonial in favour of Malchus; and in this he is not unlikely to be right.

Having so far endeavoured to form some acquaintance with the chief personages concerned in a prominent act of one of the most important movements that ever influenced the condition of the Church in Ireland,—(that act being the appointment of the first Bishop of Waterford),—it remains to add a few observations concerning the individual on whom their choice fell for occupation of that post. "Malchus," we have already seen, was an Irishman, that had lived as a monk at Winchester previously to his appointment to the episcopate. And after his settlement in Ireland, he became distinguished in the highest degree for learning and sanctity, and even as a worker of miracles; so as to have crowds of disciples flocking to him, not only from different parts of his native land, but from Scotland also. An idle doubt has however been cast on a part of his history, by Dr. Lanigan, in a note which it will not be inappropriate to our purpose to cite here, of the tenor following:—

"Usher thought (*Not. ad Ep. 38 Sylloge*) that Malchus of Lismore was the same as Malchus of Waterford, whom we have treated of *Chap. xxv. s. 6*. Besides the name, the circumstance of his having been a monk of Winchester seems to render this opinion very probable.—But St. Bernard says that Malchus was removed from Winchester straight to Lismore, whereas the original see of the Malchus already mentioned was Waterford. There were in those times other persons named *Malchus*, one of whom is mentioned by St. Bernard himself (*ib. cap. 5*); and it seems to have been a latinized appellation for one or other of those many Irish names that begin with *Maol*. There might have been two persons, so called, monks at Winchester. If a union really took place between Waterford and Lismore, as Keating (or perhaps his translator) insinuates to have been ordered by the synod of Rathbreasail, (see *Chap. xxv. s. 14*), it might be supposed that one and the same Malchus was bishop of both sees. But the matter is so obscure, that I cannot pretend to decide upon it. Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) held the same opinion (*Cambr. Ev. p. 187*), as Usher, but has given us no proof of it." (*Ec. Hist.* iv. 74.)

Now this matter is not so obscure, but that to a reader who has been following us in what precedes, it may by a little of intelligent investigation be made to appear in a tolerably clear light. In the first place, there was no *Diocese of Lismore* before the Synod of Rathbreasail, although there was, as we see, a *Bishopric of Waterford*, a few years earlier; but in the Synod of Rathbreasail, a territory of some extent, which included Lismore, being added to the city of Waterford, and placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction (so far as he might be able to secure it,) of the Bishop of Waterford, the newly formed Diocese was called by the Synod, that of *Waterford or Lismore*, so as to combine the foundation for power, and firmly establish footing, which the important mercantile city of Waterford afforded to a succession of prelates of foreign sympathies and connections, with the sacred and venerable associations called up in the native mind by the ancient glories of the "holy city" of Lismore; just as was done also in regard to Dublin and its neighbour Glendalough; and as was attempted in the case of Galway and Enaghduin, and in a manner in the case of Drogheda and Armagh, likewise. Ware gives a list of a dozen supposed bishops of Lismore, between St. Carthagh, or Mochuda, and Malchus; but it is wholly delusive, and founded in that erroneous view of his, which transforms the *Abbots* of the Annals into *Bishops of Dioceses*. For instance, the first of these prelates in his catalogue is thus noticed by Ware, Harris, according to his common practice, adding to the original errors of the work, in the part between the brackets:—

"*Hierologus*, [called in the Annals of the Four Masters, Bishop and Abbat of *Lismore*,] died on the 16th of January, 698."

Now all that the Four Masters have on the subject is this:—

A.D. 698. "*Iarnlaith, Abbot of Lismore*, died."

It were an unprofitable spending of time to follow out an investigation of the recurrence of a similar error in connection with the other names given in this list of Ware's; and it may suffice to say, that regarded as a Catalogue of the ancient *Abbots of Lismore*, it is altogether defective and imperfect, but as an enumeration of *Bishops of the See* there, quite unworthy of the least attention.

But with regard to Malchus. The name is one which occurs no where in the Irish Annals. It would, however, at the same time, be exceedingly strange indeed, if the famous individual who bore it, eminent as he was among the Irish and Scotch, for learning, sanctity, and working of miracles, could be left unhonored by an obituary notice in the Annals of his native isle: so that Dr. Lanigan must be surely right in regarding Malchus merely as a Latin name, adopted according to the fashion of that age, to represent some Irish one, as *Malachy* was employed in place of *Maelseachlainn*, and also for *Maelmogue*, and again, for *Maelisa*, in the case of *Maelisa Mac-an-clerichuir*, bishop of Down, A.D. 1148—1175. See Ware, *Bishops*, p. 196.

Dr. L. is, further, of opinion, concerning Malchus of Lismore, that "as he was very old when St. Malachy first placed himself under his direction about the year 1128, it may be fairly conjectured that he died not long after St. Malachy got full possession of Armagh," which was "towards the latter end of 1134." (*Ec. Hist.* iv. 95, 98.)

Can we find in the Annals, then, any person mentioned, answering to the following description:—(1) an Irishman, (2) whose name commences with *Maol*, (3) bishop of Waterford, (4) resident at Lismore, (5) who died about the end of 1134, or soon after, (6) being then of a great age, (7) not preceded in the Annals by any other bishop of Waterford, who lived in or shortly after 1134. If we can lay our finger on such a person, he must surely be identical with Bernard's Malchus. Were, indeed, the first bishop of Waterford, whose name occurs in the Annals, one that answered the above description, the case would appear quite certain, and hardly capable, according to the plan of the Annals, of any further corroboration; as we could not expect them to inform us what Latin designations the different persons named in them thought proper to adopt; nor is it their method to enter generally into biographical sketches of any of those individuals. Now Bishops of Waterford are mentioned in seven places in the Annals, previously to the year 1463: and the first entry we meet with connected with any of them is that which follows:—

A.C. 1135. "*Maoliosia O'Hainmire, viz. the Bishop of Waterford, and arch-senior of the Gael, died in Lismore-Mochuda, after the eighty-eighth year of his age.*"

This was, beyond all doubt, the famous miracle-working Malchus of St. Bernard, and the individual selected by king Murtoth and his friends for first bishop of Waterford; (not, as Ware, Lanigan, &c., thought, a successor to Malchus,) who soon, however, probably, found Lis-

more a place of residence far more congenial to his tastes, and better adapted for extending his influence, (at the expense of that of O'Revechain, Coarb of Mochuda,) and propagating those opinions relative to church matters, &c., for which he was so energetically interested. The advancement of Maoliosa, or Maelisa, to the bishopric of Waterford, was followed shortly after by that of the famous Gille to the See of Limerick;—and by these arrangements king Murtoigh's two capitals in the south became provided each with a prelate zealous in favor of the plan for introducing a new church constitution into use in Ireland. We have already suggested, that it was probably at the instance of Gille, combined no less probably with the advice of Malchus, that Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, had agreed on "becoming archbishop," as noticed at A.D. 1106 above. Not less likely is it that it was their instance, also, that he afterwards made a will appointing Maolmogue O'Morgair to succeed him in the primacy, when he died at Ardpatrick, just on the way between their two episcopal cities. And with them also for his principal coadjutors was the Synod of Rathbressail held by Kellach, according to the account already given from Keating, on the authority of the *Book of Clonagh*. The three signatures appended, as we have seen, to the acts of that council, in the order given by Keating, are those of Gille, Bishop of Limerick, Legate; Kellach, Coarb of Patrick, and Primate of Ireland; and *Maoliosa O'Hainmire, Archbishop of Cashel*. From this it appears, that the Synod, besides appointing Cashel to be the Archbishopric of Leath-Mogha, nominated also Maelisa O'Hainmire to be its Archbishop: but although his having consented to the arrangement seems to be testified by his signature to the acts of the Synod, yet it is probable that in the unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs consequent upon its proceedings, he never became actual Archbishop of Cashel, but continued at Lismore to his life's end: the new dignity at Cashel being filled, probably, by Maelisa O'Foley; if by any one. For although the Four Masters, in mentioning his death at A.D. 1131, call this Maelisa O'Foley, *Archbishop of Cashel*, yet the older Annals of Ulster, at the same year, style him simply "*Bishop of Cashel*," i.e. a bishop, it may have been, of the old Irish sort.

The Coarship of Mochuda at Lismore, like that of Patrick in Armagh, appears to have been held by hereditary succession at the period of which we now write, as we may conclude from the names of the abbots which remain on record in the Four Masters at the several years 1090, 1128, and 1142, as follows:—

A.C. 1090. "Maolduin Ua Reabhachain, [i.e. Muldoon O'Rowan,] Coarb of Mochuda, died."

A.C. 1128. "Mac-Maras Ua Reabhachain, Coarb of Mochuda, died."

A.C. 1142. "Ua Reabhacain, Abbot of Lismore-Mochuda, was killed by Teigue O'Kennedy."

These are the only abbots of Lismore mentioned by the Four Masters after A.D. 963. They were evidently of the same family, and must have been, in their possession of the church temporalities belonging to Lismore, as troublesome a nuisance in the way of the canonical prelates of Waterford, as the family of the Coarb Kellach to the supporters of Maolmogue O'Morgair and Roman institutions about Armagh. The Successors of Malchus (or Maelisa,) at Waterford found it next to impossible to realise the cherished idea of securing for the endowment of the See of "Waterford or Lismore" the ecclesiastical property held by the O'Reabhacains at Lismore, in connection with its abbacy; and bloody feuds ensued, which were probably, at least in part, what gave occasion to the famous Council of Kells, (in 1152,) in revising and remodelling the church constitution appointed for Ireland in 1110, to arrange, that instead of the See of "Waterford or Lismore," there should be two separate sees established, one at Waterford and another at Lismore.

The Council of Kells, held in March 1152, and presided over by the Pope's Legate Paparo, was that in which four archbishoprics were appointed for Ireland, and Palls given to the four archbishops. In this Council Cardinal Paparo was assisted by Christian O'Conairche, Bishop of Lismore, who was also the third Irish prelate that ever held the office of papal Legate for this island. He had been "a disciple, and at last archdeacon, to the famous Malachy Morgair," who sent him to St. Bernard to receive instruction in the Institutes of the Cistercian order at Clairvaux. In A.D. 1142, he was sent back to Ireland by Bernard, as first Abbot of Mellifont, the dignity from which he was promoted, about 1150, to the bishopric of Lismore, and also, at the same time or soon afterwards, to the office of Pope's Legate for Ireland. He lived to 1186, although "grown tired of all worldly pomp, he renounced his see a long time before his death," or about 1175, as Ware supposes. But meanwhile, the Annals of Ulster, and those of the Four Masters, inform us, at A.D. 1159, of the death of a "Maolmaire O'Linchy, *Bishop of Lismore*:" although an error of Ware's, followed by Lanigan, assigns this event to 1150. As Maolmaire was cotemporary with Christian, he would seem to have been a bishop of the old Irish sort, a rival prelate perhaps, and one of a party whose opposition, as much as any distaste for worldly pomp, may at last have induced Christian O'Conairche to resign his pretensions to the See.

Of the occasion of the murder of the last Coarb of Mochuda, mentioned by the Four Masters in the extract above, connected with A.D. 1142, those authors furnish us with no information. But it originated most probably in some dispute concerning the abbey lands of Lismore;—a conjecture not the less likely to be correct, when we observe that the person chargeable with the outrage was a kinsman of the O'Briens, one of the O'Kennedy's of Ormond, who derived their name from Kennedy, the father of the famous ancestor of the O'Briens; and who may have been co-operating with their Dalcaisian relatives in subverting the old ecclesiastical discipline, or want of discipline, in Ireland.

The appointment of a second See at Lismore, in addition to the one at Waterford, by the Synod of Kells, would appear to have been in part a concession to Irish national prejudices, on the part of the Legate Paparo, and those for whom he acted. The clergy and people of Lismore were, no doubt, at the time of the Synod, sufficiently imbued with the church principles inculcated by Malchus, to acquiesce in the propriety or necessity of the establishment of a diocesan episcopacy in their country. But they would fain still retain so much of their ancient rights, as would secure them some influence in the management of their own church funds, and not allow them to be seized upon by the bishop of the foreigners at Waterford. They would have a bishop of their own, although willing to look up to the pope as their sovereign spiritual head, and inclined even to regard him as one on whom they might reckon for protection against the aggressions and encroachments of the Waterford prelates. And it was perhaps thought at the Synod of Kells, that a little of judicious concession to their prejudices, for a time, might result in a desirable extinguishing of the reminiscences connected with the Coarship of Mochuda, and that Christian, the new papal Bishop of Lismore, might probably, in the course of time, be as successful in securing to himself the privileges and authority formerly enjoyed by the old Coarbs of Mochuda in that place, as his great master Maolmogue had been in his efforts to transfer the power and property once possessed by the Coarbs of Patrick at Armagh, to a commencing series of metropolitan archbishops connected with the same city.

But the scheme for establishing two bishoprics, one under Irish and papal influence at Lismore, and the other under Ostman and papal influence at Waterford, worked not happily; the bishops of Waterford still aiming by violent efforts to secure for themselves possession of the church property at Lismore, and bloody and murderous feuds arising out of this contest. This is exemplified in Ware's brief notice of David, Bishop of Waterford, A.D. 1204—1209, which, with a short addition by Harris (*viz.* the last bracketed sentence) reads thus:—

"One David, a kinsman of Meiler Fitz-Henry, Justice of Ireland, was consecrated A.D. 1204. There was a contest of a long continuance between this prelate and the Bishop of Lismore, concerning the possessions of that see, which were usurped by David; during the dependence of which before the Pope's Delegates, who were the bishops of Killaloe and Cork, and the Archdeacon of Cashell, he was cruelly murdered by some wicked villains A.D. 1209. I remember to have read somewhere that Felan, *Dinast*, or petty Prince of Desies [i.e. the territory in which Lismore is included, in the west of the County Waterford, R.K.] was the murderer. [The Annals of Innisfall under the year 1209 have this note, 'The English Bishop slain,' which must be this David.] (Harris's *Ware*, Bps. of Waterford, pp. 527, 528; and *Epistles of Pope Innocent III.* Tom. ii. p. 659. *Edit. Batav.*)

The outrageous conduct of Robert, the next Bishop of Waterford (who was consecrated by Donat, Archbishop of Cashel, in 1210,) in his pursuit of the same quarrel, is described at length by Ware; of whose narrative, however, a considerably abridged account will suffice for our present purpose.

"This prelate," says Ware, "treading close in the footsteps of his predecessor, forcibly seized from the Bishops of Lismore many of the possessions of that see; [* even before he was consecrated, and held them by lay force. For which reason the Bishop of Lismore loudly protested against his Consecration. But the Archbishop of Cashell declaring that he consecrated him only to the see of Waterford, and not to the see of Lismore, the Bishop of Lismore was obliged to acquiesce in the matter of his Consecration. The Popes Delegates, being the Bishops of Norwich, Clonfert, and Enachdune, cited Robert to appear and answer the Bishop of Lismore, concerning the lands wickedly usurped by his predecessor, and still withheld by him . . . [and after some other preliminary proceedings, R.K.] they adjudged restitution to the Bishop of Lismore, and gave him actual induction, and condemned the Bishop of Waterford in 160 Marks costs.

"The Bishop of Waterford was enraged at this proceeding. He privately employed Robert Fitz-Christopher, his Seneschal, and some others of his family to seize the Bishop of Lismore. They besieged him for a time in the church of Lismore, where they found him at Divine Service. They fell upon him going out of the church, dragged off his Episcopal Robes, robbed the church of its goods, and hurried him about from place to place until they brought him to the Castle of Dungarvan, where the Bishop of Waterford threw him into a dungeon in Irons. . . . Seven weeks after, the Bishop of Lismore escaped out of Prison, in which he had been cruelly macerated with thirst and hunger. The Delegates cited the Bishop of Waterford to make satisfaction to the Bishop of Lismore for these injuries. He appeared, threatened then with the king of England's vengeance, and contumaciously departed. . . . [Afterwards again] he laid an ambush to surprise the Bishop of Lismore, by Thomas his Clerk, in the church yard of Limerick, who laid violent hands on him, and drawing a sword, attempted to cut off his head. The Bishop of Lismore missed, [i.e. escaped R.K.] the stroke; but it left a deep mark in the door. . . . It is strange that the name of this Bishop of Lismore, who suffered so much, should be lost. Harris.] In the year 1221 this Bishop Robert was again foiled in another suit of the like nature, between him and Robert de Bedford, Bishop of Lismore. He sat in this see for 12 years, and died of grief in 1222."

The words here following are an addition to Ware by his Editor, Harris.

Robert de Bedford, (so called from his birth place,) the first English Bishop of Lismore, was elected by the canons of that church for their chief pastor, in A.D. 1218, probably with a hope that his connection with England might be the means of adding some strength to their cause, and hindering their see from being suppressed and merged in that of Waterford, an arrangement which Robert, Bishop of Waterford, above-mentioned, was very anxious to effect. "He," says Ware, "petitioned the king, suggested a fraud in the proceedings of the canons of Lismore, and supported his pretensions by exhibiting the Letters of John, [i.e. Paparo. R.K.] Cardinal Priest of St. Stephen in Monte Coelio, the Pope's Legate, for the ordering and uniting of these Bishopricks. He alleged, that although, during the government of the Irish, they had for some time remained divided, (as it was said,) yet he shewed that they were united by the said Legate." The end of the controversy was, that Robert of Bedford was able to maintain his position as Bishop of Lismore, being confirmed therein by the three English Bishops whom the pope appointed his delegates for deciding on the case. He was thus the means of saving the See of Lismore from suppression at that time: a work in which he prospered better than in a preceding attempt of his in a like case. For he "had been elected," Ware says, "to the Bishoprick of Glendaloch after the death of William Piro, but was disappointed therein, because that See was then united to the Diocese of Dublin." (*Bishops*, p. 552.)

Connected with the union of Dublin and Glendalough, in many respects analogous to that of Waterford and Lismore, the following curious record (already referred to in a quotation from Abp. Ussher at p. 9, *sup.*) is given, from the Archives of Christ Church, Dublin, in Harris's edition of Ware's *Bishops*. It is a letter on the subject from Felix O'Ruadan, Archbishop of Tuam (A.D. 1201—1235,) and his Suffragans, and was one of the instruments used, as Harris thinks, by Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, for effecting the final union of Glendalough with Dublin, in A.D. 1218.

"A LETTER CONCERNING THE PALLS SENT INTO IRELAND."

"The Testimony of the Archbishop of Tuam and his Suffragans.

"Master John Papiron, Legate of the Roman Church, coming into Ireland, found a Bishop dwelling in Dublin, who at that time exercised his episcopal office within the walls. He found in the same Diocese another Church in the Mountains, which likewise had the name of a City, and had a certain *Chorepiscopus*, [i.e. Village Bishop.] But the same Legate appointed Dublin, which was the best city, to be the Metropolis of that Province, delivering the Pall to that Bishop, who then governed the Church of Dublin. And he appointed that that Diocese, in which both cities were, should be divided, that one part thereof should fall to the Metropolis, on the death of him who then presided over the church in it. And this he would have immediately carried into execution, had he not been obstructed by the insolence of the Irish, who were then powerful in that part of the country. But when our Lord Henry, king of England, had been informed by various parties concerning the intention of the said Master Legate, he did, in conformity with his will and intention, make a grant of the said [church] to the Metropolis. In like manner did our Lord John, king of England, that now is, make a grant of the same portion to be held by John, the predecessor of him who is [archbishop] at present, after having received evidence from the great and worthy men of the country, relative to the said fact, and to the intention of the said Master Legate. Besides, that holy church in the mountains, although held of old in great veneration, on account of St. Keywin, who led a hermit's life there, is now, however, so waste and desolate, these forty years past, or thereabouts, that of a Church it hath become a Den of Thieves, a Nest of Robbers: so that there are more murders committed in that valley, from its vast and wild solitude, than in any other place in Ireland."

The arrangements intended with regard to Dublin and Glendalough, by the authorities of Rome, are also detailed in a Bull of Pope Honorius III. to Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, dated Oct. 6, 1216. "It recites the journey of Paparo to Ireland, and that his errand was to limit the Bishopricks. That, prevailed on by wise considerations, he thought proper to constitute the Metropolitan See at Dublin, in the Diocese of Glendaloch, where the Royal Seat and Metropolis of the kingdom of Ireland for ages past had stood; that by Apostolical Authority he conferred the Pall on the Bishop of Dublin, and assigned the better part of the Bishopric of Glendaloch for a Diocese to the Church of Dublin, reserving the remainder to the Bishop of Glendaloch during his life: but so that the Church of Glendaloch, with the appurtenances, should after the Bishop's death fall to the Church of Dublin. . . . Yet we find many in the possession of the See of Glendaloch either by usurpation, or the Pope's promotion, long after the period here mentioned [viz. to A.D. 1497]; who were supported by the clans of the country, not then amenable to the laws."—Harris, we may observe, admits, in his account of Glendalough, (*Bishops*, p. 372,) "that in the early ages of Christianity in Ireland, there were both a Bishoprick and an Abby founded here, distinct and unblended in their rights and possessions;" adding that "the writer of the Life of Laurence O'Tool, Archbishop of Dublin (who had been Abbat of Glendaloch,) published by Messingham, takes care to keep the Bishoprick and Abby separate. 'In this Church (says he) there was both a Bishoprick and an Abby; but the Abby as to temporal wealth far exceeded the Bishoprick;' as was indeed usually the case in Ireland. (See p. 17, *sup.*)

If the preceding account of the origin and early circumstances of the See of Lismore appear to the reader to involve a rather long digression from the history of the famous individual with a passage in whose life it commenced, it is to be remembered that we have at the same time digressed little or nothing from the proper object of this Essay, which includes an elucidation, to some extent, of the more striking and prominent features of that great change, which substituted for our ancient *Coarbships*, at Armagh and elsewhere, *Diocesan Episcopal Sees*, constituted after the model of the church as then existing in other parts of the world. And certainly, next to Armagh itself, there appears to have been hardly any other place in this island, whose history at that period is better adapted for assisting us in the understanding of this rather obscure subject, than the city of Lismore-Mochuda, one of the most noble cities of Leath-Mogha, as Bernard considered it to be, and the seat of that College from which the newly introduced principles in regard to church order and discipline, which were instrumental to the effecting of so great a change, as was at that time brought about, were most energetically disseminated throughout all Ireland.

Returning now to the period of Maolmogue O'Morgair's abode with Bishop Malchus at Lismore;—after he had spent a long time in the place, "the parties that had sent him thither, ill able to abide such a protracted absence on his part, despatched their letters for his recall."—Kellach, perhaps, on account of the necessity that existed for his own being so much absent from Armagh, (see at A.D. 1126 above,) was the more anxious to have back to the North one in whom he had so much confidence as in Maolmogue, for exercising such an influence, and promoting such order, in Ulster, as to him appeared most needed there. Maolmogue accordingly returned, it would seem, in 1127, to Leath-Cuinn; but not to settle in Armagh, nor in its territory; for cogent reasons, most probably, which, as we shall see presently, operated a few years after so forcibly, as to condemn him to exclusion, for a considerable time, from the city of St. Patrick.

At the time of his return to Ulster, St. Comhgall's famous monastery of Bangor in the County Down, of which mention has occurred already, (at p. 12, of this Essay,) lay in a state of ruin "having been long before," as St. Bernard says, "destroyed by Pirates," i.e. by the piratical Danes or Norwegians. This was perhaps in A.D. 956, when, according to the Four Masters, "Taney Maguire, Coarb of Comhgall, was killed by the Foreigners;" or perhaps even so early as A.D. 822, when "Bangor was ravaged by the Foreigners, and its Oratory demolished, and the remains of Comhgall shaken out of the Shrine wherein they had been encased, as Comhgall himself had foretold." The site, however, and the possessions belonging to the place, were, at the time of which we now write, in the hands of a person of wealth and power, who was uncle to Maolmogue; and this individual, on his nephew's return to the North, made him an offer of the entire property, to build a monastery there again, or else, to reedify that which had previously existed. The site, however, only, of the old establishment, Maolmogue thankfully accepted for the purpose, inspired with fervor in the undertaking, "at the thought of its former glory, and feeling as though he were about to replant a paradise, in a spot such as that, where many bodies of the saints were sleeping. For not to speak of those that were buried there in peace, nine hundred, they say, were slain there in a single day by the pirates.

"Of vast extent, indeed, was the property belonging to that place. But Malachy, contenting himself with the consecrated spot alone, allowed the entire property and lands to go to another. For we are to observe, that never since the time of the destruction of the monastery, had either it, or the property belonging to it, been without an owner. For there were persons appointed, and by election too, who were even styled abbots, and were guardians in name, though not in reality, of what had formerly existed there. And when many recommended [Malachy] not to alienate the property, but retain the whole together in his own hands, this lover of poverty would not consent, but caused one to be elected according to custom,* to hold it, retaining merely the site, as aforesaid, for himself and his brethren. Though perhaps, from what appeared afterwards, he would have done more wisely to have retained the whole, and to have been less influenced by humility, and more by a regard for peace.

"Having taken with him then, by command of father Imar, about ten brethren, he came to the place, and commenced building [himself

* The individual here intended by St. Bernard was probably the same that is named in the following entry of the *Four Masters*, at A.D. 1181. "Murtogh O'Hanratty, Coarb of Comhgall, died at Armagh on the 3rd day of October." On the statement of Bernard Lanigan observes, that "Here we have an instance of the election of a *comorba* or *corbe* undoubtedly by the sept which had got possession of the lands, that formerly belonged to the monastery." Maolmogue's uncle, therefore, who had held possession of those lands, and consequently Maolmogue himself, it would seem, were of that sept. Lanigan thinks it not unlikely that the Coarb O'Hanratty, on Maolmogue's expulsion from the North, "being too old to follow the Saint to Munster, had retired to Armagh." (*Ec. Hist.* iv. 86, 93.) The next preceding Abbot, (or, *quasi abbot*), of Bangor, mentioned by the Four Masters, was one whose Obit is thus given by them at A.D. 1123. "Aengus O'Gorman, Coarb of Comhgall, died on his pilgrimage at Lismore-Mochuda." This notice is of some interest in connection with Maolmogue's visit to Lismore, as "His arrival there was probably about A.D. 1123," (according to Dr. Lanigan, iv. 78,) or, in other words, just about the time of the Coarb Aengus's death, (or more

taking a part in the work, and handling the axe among the rest.] . . . And in a few days their Oratory was completed, the material consisting indeed of smoothened branches of trees, yet put together in a workmanlike and substantial way,—a Scottish style of structure, not at all deficient in elegance. And forthwith Divine Service begins to be celebrated there, as in the days of old, with equal devotion at least, though with unequal numbers. Over this place Malachy continued for some time to preside, father Imar so appointing."

Ivar O'Hegan evidently exercised a very strong influence in directing the course of Maolmogue's life, an influence which again shews itself in the next step of promotion that awaited the latter. Some parties not mentioned having elected him Bishop of Connor, very soon, it would seem, after his settlement at Bangor, Maolmogue steadily declined accepting this dignity, until the persevering solicitations of the electors were seconded "by the command of his master, combined with that of the Metropolitan," i.e. Kellach. To such influence he could not but yield: and he was accordingly consecrated bishop, when about thirty, as Bernard says; or rather somewhat later, perhaps, in his life, as we may conclude by reckoning from the year of his birth to A.D. 1127, at least, in which, according to sufficient evidence of the Irish Annals, the monarch of Desmond was deposed, and afterwards reestablished on his throne. The Four Masters appear therefore to be in error in stating at A.D. 1124, above, that Maolmogue became Bishop of Connor in that year, his appointment to the office having more probably occurred late in 1127. Perhaps their assertion may have been founded on the testimony of Bernard just referred to. But his word is not, "almost thirty," but "about thirty," years, where he speaks of Maolmogue's age at the time of his consecration. The see of Connor "had been long vacant," Bernard says, at this time. In fact, the only bishop on record connected with it since the beginning of the 12th century, had been Flann O'Scua, who died, according to the Four Masters, in 1117; and of whose history we know nothing further. Maolmogue's attachment to Bangor was such, that "he continued to dwell there, even after having been made a Bishop, as the place was near to the city," appointed for his Episcopal See. Of the state in which he found matters connected with religion among the people of his new charge, Bernard writes in the following terms:—

"Consecrated bishop about the thirtieth year of his age, Malachy receives his introduction into Connor. For such was the name of the city. But no sooner had he commenced engaging in the duties of his office, than this man of God saw plainly, that it was not men, but beasts, he had been sent to deal with. No where yet had he met with such beings in any locality, however barbarous. No where had he found people so reckless of moral principle, so savage in their rites, so impious in regard to the faith, so barbarous as concerned laws, so stiffnecked against discipline, filthy in their lives,—Christians by name, in reality pagans. No tithes did they pay, nor first-fruits: into legitimate matrimony they entered not: nor any confessions did they attend. Penances absolutely none could be found either to submit to or to impose. The ministers of the altar were exceedingly few in number. Though to be sure, what need of more, when fewness itself was left almost wholly unemployed among the lay people. No opportunity was afforded them of realizing fruit from their offices among such an abandoned race. Nor was there even heard in the churches the voice of preacher or chanter. What then was the champion of the Lord to do? He must either ignominiously retire from the field, or engage with peril in the conflict. He, however, conscious in himself that he was no hireling shepherd, chose rather to stand his ground than flee, ready even to lay down his life for the sheep, should occasion require it. And albeit there were all wolves, and sheep none, [still] in the midst of the wolves did the fearless shepherd take his stand, endeavouring by every argument that ingenuity could suggest, to convert those wolves into sheep.

"In public did he admonish, and in secret argue, weeping over his words with individuals; addressing men at one time with severity, at another time with gentleness, as appeared expedient for the case of each. And where he made but little way with any of the flock by efforts of this kind, for them did he offer up the contrite and humbled heart. How many a time stayed he sleepless for whole nights, with outstretched arms in prayer. And where they would not come to church, he would meet them, unwilling as they might be, in the streets and public places, and go round about the city, searching with panting anxiety what one he might win for Christ. Yea, and with no less frequency did he visit abroad through the towns and rural districts, attended by that holy company of his disciples, that never were absent from his side."

So far for the description which Bernard gives of Malachy's labors at Connor:—and now as to the result:—

"The hardness disappeared. The barbarity was tamed. And the dwelling-place of cruelty began gradually to assume an air of quiet, gradually to open to improvement, and accept of instruction. The barbaric laws are abolished;—*Those of Rome are introduced.* The usages of the Church are adopted in all directions; those of a contrary character are abandoned. The Christian temples are reedified, clergymen ordained in them, the solemnities of the sacraments duly celebrated. Confession comes into use. A crowded congregation attends the church. The solemn nuptial rite gives propriety to the intercourse of the sexes. In fine, all is so much changed for the better, that we can now apply to that locality the word of the Lord by His Prophet:—*Now are they my people, that were before not my people.*"

Connected with the above passage, Dr. Reeves has some observations, in his *Antiquities of Down, &c.*, (pp. 255, 256,) which are worth citing here. The quotations in them are given by the author in the original Latin, as usual, but are here translated into English for the readers of this Memoir.

"Such is Bernard's description of the beneficial effects wrought in the diocese of Connor by the exertions of Malachy; and yet it is difficult to repress the suspicion that the picture owes its darkest shade to the want of conformity, among the people of Connor, to the Romish discipline. When Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, a little before, had published his letter 'on the Usages of the Church,' his professed object was, not to convert the nation, but 'that those different and schismatical service books, with which almost all Ireland has been deluded, might give place to one Office, Catholic and Roman.' (Ussher, Syll. Ep. 30.) Indeed, during the whole century, it seems to have been the favorite tone of the advocates of the papal ascendancy in Ireland to decry the native institutions of the country, and to exalt the competing influence of Rome, until in the subjugation of Ireland, a religious change was effected by force, which might have failed had its establishment been left to the march of popular opinion. In the latter part of the century Pope Alexander III. addressed a bull to Henry II., in which he describes the immorality and irreligion of the Irish in language even stronger than that of Bernard: 'Those Irish, who, utterly regardless of the fear of God, are wandering in unbridled licentiousness over every downward precipice of crime, and have cast away the restraints of Christianity and virtue.—Who bring openly their own stepmothers into their houses, and unblushingly become the parents of children by them. And a brother dishonours a brother's wife, that brother still living. One also of them will take two sisters for his concubines; and quite commonly they cast aside a mother, to substitute her daughters [for their partners.] And they all universally eat flesh meat in Lent; and pay no tithes, nor shew towards God's holy churches, nor towards ecclesiastical persons, to any extent, that reverence which is their due.' In another Bull, which was directed to the Kings and Princes of Ireland, he instances, as a benefit of their submitting to Henry II., that 'the Irish Nation, which seems to have gone, in time past, very far astray from God, in the enormity and filthiness of their crimes, will now receive instruction adapted to give them a better interest in divine worship, and bring them to a more adequate reception of the Christian faith.' In a third document of the same nature, he acknowledges to Christian [Bishop of Lismore, see p. 91 *sup.*] the Legate, and the Archbishops of Ireland, the information he had received from them of the moral condition of Ireland: 'The enormities of crime that have stained the character of the Irish nation, and the manner in which they have cast off the fear of God, and the restraints of the Christian religion, to follow courses fraught with peril to the souls of men, have been made apparent to us from the contents of your letter, although the apostolic see hath not been uninformed of the same, for the most part, from the authentic statements of others also.' (Rymer, Fœd., vol. i. p. 45. Lond. 1815.)"

It appears to have been during the period of Maolmogue's labors in the diocese of Connor, that the illness and death of the Coarb Kellach took place in the South of Ireland, as already mentioned: although Bernard refers the death of Kellach to a later period in Maolmogue's life, sub-

likely, some time before it,) a circumstance which, probably, was closely connected with Maolmogue's acquisition, at a subsequent period, of the site of the monastery of which Aengus had been proprietor in the Ardes.

There is yet extant a very curious ancient *Service Book*, which was composed, in Latin, for the use of the church of Bangor, shortly, it seems, before the year 688, or else, very soon after that year, and which corroborates, in a striking and interesting manner, the historic truth and authenticity of our ancient Irish Annals. In the Library of the Monastery of Bobio, in the north of Italy, founded by the famous St. Columbanus, a monk of Bangor, in the Seventh Century, there was preserved a copy of this book. According to the learned Italian author Muratori, it had been brought thither by Dungal, a very famous Irishman, who left his own country about A.D. 810, to settle on the Continent, (Lan. iii. 256,) and bequeathed a valuable collection of books to the Library aforesaid. They were afterwards, at least in great part, removed to the Ambrosian Library of Milan, by Cardinal Frederic Borromeo; (ib. p. 263,) and there Muratori finding the old Irish *Service Book*, or *Antiphonary*, as it was called, of Bangor, then considered about a thousand years old, published an Edition of it, which is to be found in the fourth volume of his *Anecdota Ambrosiana*, printed in 1713. (Lan. i. 60.) The manner in which this curious ancient *Service Book* authenticates our native Annals, will be seen from the following observations of Dr. Reeves, in his notice of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Bangor.

"The succession of the abbots is very accurately registered in the *Annals*, and the names of fifteen are recorded previously to the year 691. At the close of the ancient service book of this abbey, called the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, [or Antiphonary of Bangor,] is a hymn entitled '*Memoria Abbatum nostrorum*,' in which the names of these fifteen abbots are recited in the same order as in the Annals; and this undesigned coincidence is the more interesting, because the testimonies are perfectly independent, the one being afforded by Irish records, [i.e. records in the Irish language,] which never left the kingdom, and the other by a Latin composition, which has been a thousand years absent from the country where it was written. (*Antiquities of Down, &c.* pp. 152, 153.)"

sequently to his departure from Connor. But this does not agree with the testimony of our Irish Annals, which, in the chronology of this period, are more trustworthy than Bernard's account. And accordingly, Dr. Lanigan appears to be quite right in connecting the death of Kellach, in 1129, with that part of the life of Maolmogue, which has been last brought under notice above. The following is Bernard's curious account of the state of ecclesiastical matters at Armagh, and especially of such circumstances as were connected with the order of succession to the primacy, at the period now spoken of. (See pp. 13, 23, *sup.*)

"While these matters are proceeding in this way, it came to pass that Archbishop Celsus fell sick. He it was that ordained Malachy deacon, priest, and bishop. And, knowing that he was soon to die, he made a sort of testament, whereby it was ordered that Malachy should be his successor, seeing that none appeared more worthy to be bishop of the first see. This he notified to those that were present with him: this he left in charge for the absent: this he enjoined specially on the two Kings of Munster, [i.e. Cormac Mac Carthy, of Desmond, and Conor O'Brien, of Thomond; R.K.] and on the nobles of the country, by the authority of St. Patrick; the reverence and honor paid to whom, as the Apostle of that nation, who converted the whole country to the faith, is such, as to cause that see where he presided while alive, and in which he reposes in death, to be regarded ever since with such veneration, that not only their bishops and priests, and the rest of the clerical body, but also their princes and kings, universally, are subject to its metropolitan in all obedience, and he exercises over them all an individual superiority.

"There had however been established by the diabolical ambition of certain of the nobles, a most scandalous usage, whereby the holy see came to be obtained by hereditary succession. For they would allow no person to be promoted to the bishopric, excepting such as were of their own tribe and family. Nor was it for any short period that this execrable succession had continued, some fifteen generations having already been exhausted in such a course of iniquity. And so firmly had this wicked and adulterous generation established their unholy right, or wrong, rather, that deserved to be punished with any sort of death, that though at times there were no clergymen to be found of their blood, yet bishops they never were without. In fine there had been already, before the time of Celsus, eight individuals that were married, and without orders, yet still men of education, [i.e. *literati*, i.e. *literates*.] Hence arose all that dissolution of church discipline, that impotence of censures, that decay of religion, throughout every part of Ireland, whereof we have made mention above. Hence that savage barbarity, that had, in every direction, insinuated itself to supplant the gentle spirit of Christianity,—yea, rather, that form of Paganism, that had been introduced under the name of the religion of Christ. For, what was unheard of since the very first dawn of Christianity, bishops were changed about and multiplied, without order, without reason, at the pleasure of the metropolitan: so that one bishopric was not content with one of them, but almost every single church must have a bishop of its own. And no wonder. For, how could the members be healthy, where the head was so affected with disease.

"Greatly afflicted at these and other like evils prevalent among the people, Celsus, [i.e. Kellach,] for he was a good and religious man, made it his care by all means to have Malachy for his successor; as trusting that, by his instrumentality, that mischievously rooted succession might be eradicated; seeing that he was dear to all the people, and one that all regarded as a model for imitation, and that the Lord was with him. Nor was he disappointed of his hope. For when he was dead, Malachy was substituted in his place. Not however directly, nor without trouble. For lo! [up arises] one of that wicked seed, Mauricius, [i.e. Murtoth,] by name, to occupy the post. And for five years did he, supported by the secular power, become an *incubus* on the church, not a bishop, but a tyrant; while the sentiments of the pious were unanimously rather in favor of Malachy. They were, in fact, recommending him to undertake the onerous duties proposed to him in accordance with the constitution of Celsus. But he, who shrunk from every elevated position as though it were a precipice before him, appeared to himself to have laid hold of a convenient occasion for excusing [himself in this instance,] in the fact, that his entering the place, during the period referred to, in peace, was a thing impossible.

"To an undertaking so holy he was [however] urged and solicited by them all, but especially by the two bishops, Malchus and Gillebert: the first of whom is that [venerable] Senior of Lismore abovementioned, the other the individual who they say was the first to exercise throughout all Ireland the office of Legate of the Apostolic See. And they, after three years had now elapsed in this usurpation by Maurice [or Murtoth,] and reserve on Malachy's part, being unable to endure any longer such adultery towards the Church, such dishonour to Christ, convoked [at length] the bishops and princes of the land, and proceed, animated by one spirit, to Malachy, prepared to employ force. He, on the other hand, refused at first, urging as his apology the difficulty of the business, the numbers, influence, ambition, of that noble family,—that it was a serious matter for a poor humble person, such as he, to oppose himself to a body of men so numerous, so influential, so disposed, so rooted, that had now for some two hundred years held possession, as by hereditary right, of the sanctuary of God, and who had even in the present case gained previous occupation:—that they could not be extirpated even with loss of life, and that it was in no way proper for him to become personally the occasion for shedding of blood:—that he was, in fine, wedded to another spouse, whom he had no right to put away.

"When they, however, on the other hand, continued still urging, and exclaiming that the word had gone forth from the Lord, and even ordered him by the full weight of their authority, on pain of *anathema*, to undertake the burden,—'It is to death,' said he, 'that you are leading me:—yet will I obey, in hope of a martyr's death;—on this condition, however, that if, according to your confident anticipation, matters take a more desirable turn, and God see fit to avenge His inheritance of them that spoil it, then at length, when all shall have been settled, and the Church gets peace, I may return to my former spouse, and that loved poverty from which I am forced away, and have liberty to substitute for myself there some other, who may then possibly be found suited to the situation.' On their engaging themselves to this, he at last acquiesced in their desire; or in that of God, rather, who, as he recalled to mind, had long previously foreshewn to him the arrangement concerning himself which now caused him such uneasiness.

"For, when Celsus lay sick, there appeared to Malachy, and that when he was far away, and unacquainted with the circumstance, a woman of tall stature and solemn aspect, who, on his having enquired 'Who she was?' made answer, that she was the wife of Celsus: and then, delivering him a pastoral wand that she held in her hand, vanished from his sight. A few days having elapsed, Celsus, dying, sent his Staff to Malachy, as the person to succeed him: at sight of which he recognised it as the very one that he had seen. A recollection of this vision was what particularly impressed Malachy with a fear, lest his refusing any further what he had sufficiently long declined, might appear like a resisting of the divine will."

Maolmogue, at the time when he was thus urged, and ultimately consented, to assume the primatial office, as the Successor of Kellach, and rival to the Coarb Murtoth, (who had been regularly installed in the usual way at Armagh,) was resident in the south of Ireland, at a place called Iveragh, in the kingdom of Desmond. But how he came to remove to that quarter yet remains to be told. The following is the account of the matter given by S. Bernard, in a passage immediately following that cited on the preceding page, which ends with a quotation from the prophet Hosea, (ii. 23.)

"It came to pass after some years, that the city [of Connor] was destroyed by the king of the Northern portion of Ireland. [i.e. Conor O'Lochlainn. R.K.] For in the North all mischief originates. This present mischief was, however, perhaps, a benefit to such as made a good use of it. For who knows whether God may not have meant, by such a scourge, to obliterate the evils that existed from of old among his people. Under the compulsion of such necessity, Malachy himself also retired from the place, with his band of disciples. Nor did he remove elsewhere to be idle: as it was on this occasion that the monastery of Iveragh was erected, Malachy retiring thither with his brethren, a hundred and twenty in number. There king Cormac came to meet him, that very prince, who some time before, when driven from his kingdom, had received, in the mercy of God, consolation under Malachy's care. And that place was situated in his realm. Glad was the king at seeing Malachy: and he gave to him and those that were with him, a full account of all his circumstances, as one that was not ungrateful, nor disposed to forget a benefit. A number of animals were brought forthwith to the place for the brethren's use, with many presents beside, of gold and silver, for building expenses, in such quantity as comported with a king's munificence. He himself also was constantly with them, going out and coming in, constant in his attention and in offices of kindness, and while in garb a king, yet in spirit a disciple of Malachy."

Bernard then goes on to say how greatly the establishment at Iveragh prospered, what numbers joined it, and how affluent it became: the exiled Bishop of Connor exhibiting, as its superior, that energy which ever marked his character, and as usual, such humility as to be ready to take his turn with the rest in the humblest offices, including "the ministry of the cooking department" (*ministerium coquinae*.) But however the institution at Ibrach, or Iveragh, may have thriven for a time, it seems to have soon declined again, probably in consequence of the return of Maolmogue and his party to their own quarter of Ireland.

But what account have we given us in the Irish Annals, or do they furnish us with any account, of this desolation of Connor, and expulsion of its bishop from the North? or of the person who was the doer of such mischief? Taking the latter question first, a reply to it is contained in the following Obit, which we meet with at A.D. 1136 of the Four Masters:—

A.D. 1136. "Conor, son of Donnell O'Lochlainn, [who had been] at first Lord of Aileach, and [subsequently] became King of all the North, including the Kinel-Connell and Kinel-Owen people, the Ulidians and Oriel-men, was treacherously assassinated by the men of Moy-Ithe." [or Moy-Iha, a plain in the Barony of Raphoe, Co. Donegal, along the river Finn. O'Donovan, at A.M. 2540.]

This, then, was the individual who drove Maolmogue out of Ulidia. As to the occasion when his expulsion took place, there need be no doubt entertained but that it was, as Dr. Lanigan suggests, (Ec. Hist. iv. 90, note 67,) during the devastation by Conor O'Lochlainn, in A.D. 1130, of that part of Ulster in which the town of Connor, as well as Bangor also, where the Bishop of Connor was then resident, (see p. 93 *sup.*) was included. Of the expedition in question the following is the account supplied by the Four Masters at the year just mentioned.

* See the entry from the Four Masters at A.D. 1130, p. 86 *sup.*

A.D. 1130. "An expedition was made by O'Lochlainn, i.e. Conor, son of Donnell, and [the men of] the North of Ireland, into Ulidia. The Ulidians assembled to give them battle. On their coming up to one another a fierce battle ensued between them. The Ulidians were in the end overpowered, and a slaughter made of them, wherein fell Hugh O'Linchy, Lord of Dalaradia, Gillapattrick Mac Sherry, Lord of Dalboyn, Durelvy Mac Artain, and various others beside. And they, [i.e. Conor and his forces,] plundered the country as far as to the East of the Ardes, both lay property and churches: and they carried off a thousand prisoners, and many thousands of cows and horses. The nobles of Ulidia, headed by their Lords, come afterwards to Armagh, to meet Conor, where they made peace and alliance, and left hostages, with him."

The shorter account of the same transaction set forth in the Dublin *Annals of Innisfallen*, is to the following effect:—

A.D. 1130. "Conor, son of Airtgoil Mac Lochlain, at the head of the forces of Tiroconnell and Tyrone, marched into Ulster. They ravaged and plundered Druimboth, wherein great slaughter was made of the Ultonians."

The country ravaged on this occasion by the king of Aileach, was that precisely which had been the immediate scene of Maolmogue's labors, extending from the district about Connor to the Ardes of Down. *Dalaradia*, of which O'Linchy was lord, comprised, according to Colgan, the eastern part of Ulster towards the sea, bounded on the west by an irregular line drawn from Newry to Sleemish in the Co. Antrim. To the North it extended as far as a boundary formed in part by the Clough River. "But, strictly speaking, the name *Dalaradia*, as a territorial designation, was applied to only a northern portion of this large tract. Thus the Bishop of Connor was styled Bishop of *Dalaradia*, as contradistinguished from the Bishop of Uladh, or Down." (Reeves, *Antt.* p. 396.) The Synod of Rathbreasail, however, assigned to the diocese of Connor, all the country from the river Roe, falling into Lough Foyle, to the vale of Newry, including thus the present dioceses of Down, Connor, and Dromore, with some of the N.E. part of Derry.* At all events Connor appears to have been, in Maolmogue's time, the capital of *Dalaradia*, and for that reason chosen for the Episcopal See. *Dalboyn*, of which Mac Sherry was Lord, was anciently the name of an ecclesiastical district comprised in *Dalaradia*, and lying on both sides of the river Lagan, between Belfast and Moira. It included the churches of Drumbo, Glenavy, Derriaghy, Blaris, or Lisburn, &c. &c. The *Mac Artains*, (or *Mac Cartanes*,) territory, was that which forms the present barony of Kinelarty, occupying nearly the middle of the Co. Down; and their principal seat was at Annadorn, in the parish of Loughinisland, a little west of Downpatrick. The expedition of Conor O'Lochlainn, which proved fatal to the lords of the territories now described, extended its desolating effects "as far as to the east of the Ardes," (or part of Down to the east of Strangford Lough,) and so included the district in which Maolmogue's favourite residence, at Bangor, was situated.

The Irish Annalists, we may observe, give no reason for the outrages committed on the above occasion by the northern king. In this, however, they only follow their usual practice. When they record "a change of Abbots at Armagh," nothing is added as the occasion for such change, or the merits of the individuals interchanged, or whether the change was effected forcibly or amicably. When the Coarb of Patrick is attacked by Tiernan O'Ruark, and some of his company, including a clergyman of "Patrick's Congregation," killed, or when the Coarb of Mochuda is assassinated by an O'Kennedy, the fact is placed on record, and we left to surmise, or infer from probabilities, what may have been the reasons that operated in each case. Can we, then, from any facts on record, account, even partially, for the ferocious attack on the Diocese of Connor, which has just come under our notice?

Maolmogue had, as we have seen from Bernard's testimony, been engaged most energetically in introducing ecclesiastical changes into the churches of this district. He had been very successful in overcoming indifference and hostility. The principles which he sought to disseminate affected seriously one of the sorest questions of controversy for Ireland, viz. that concerning the tenure of land. He taught men, that some of the most influential and wealthy people of the country were to be ejected, by right, from properties long held by them hereditarily: that coarbal family claims ought to yield to church interests, and lands claimed and held by such families, be wrested from them and assigned to elective or papally nominated bishops of dioceses. The strongest and most influential party in the church at Armagh were utterly opposed to such views, and prepared to defend, as Maolmogue himself intimated, with violence and bloodshed, if necessary, their title to the property, held by them, though belonging to the church.

The churches of *Dalaradia* are noticed particularly, as having suffered in this war of O'Lochlainn's. Now he was, it seems, no enemy to the church generally, but, on the contrary, a patron of the Coarb of Patrick, and protector and avenger of his rights, as we have seen in the instance recorded at A.D. 1128 above, where his cavalry were employed in visiting with sanguinary vengeance the outrage committed on the Coarb in that year. But that Maolmogue, personally, was regarded by him with hostility, and treated accordingly, appears almost certain from the circumstance, that one main object evidently secured by the war, was Maolmogue's expulsion from the North. He could not, it seems, remain at Bangor. He came not back to Armagh; but went to develop among his friends in the south, those tendencies and principles in regard to church matters, which were less in favor with the chieftains of Ulster and its leading ecclesiastics. And one of the articles agreed on at Armagh, between O'Lochlainn and the Ulidians, when he took their hostages, may not improbably have been, that Maolmogue should no longer be harboured in their territory.

We must not forget, that in this year 1130, Maolmogue was not only Bishop of Connor, but also rival-primate; appointed, at least, by the will of the late Coarb Kellach, in the preceding year, his successor in office, and having, in such rivalry, the support of the chief men of Church and State in the South of Ireland. Conor O'Lochlainn most probably had heard, how the dying Kellach had requested his hereditary antagonist, Conor O'Brien, of Thomond, and the king of Desmond, to unite in exerting themselves to secure Maolmogue's appointment to the Coarbship; and a determination to resist such interference with the chief ecclesiastical dignity in his own realm, by disabling the Bishop of Connor from extending any further his operations and influence in Ulster, was, probably, one strong motive with O'Lochlainn, for undertaking the war which ended in effecting the banishment of Maolmogue to the South.

Between the two great northern Irish Seminaries of religion at Derry and Armagh, both of them situated in O'Lochlainn's realm, and the former within some five miles of his royal seat of Aileach, (or Oileach,) a very great intimacy appears to have subsisted in this age: and the highest official persons in the one, at times held similar positions in the other, also. Thus, Dudalehe, son of Kellach, who died in A.D. 998, was Abbot of Armagh, and of Derry also: and, as this was within the 200 years mentioned by Bernard, the Dudalehe in question must have belonged to the family that were hereditary usurpers of the chief ecclesiastical dignity at Armagh. Murray, son of Creehan, who died at A.D. 1010, had been Coarb of Columkille, and was "intended Abbot" of Armagh; again furnishing us with an Abbot of Derry of that same family. So early as A.D. 925, Maelbride, son of Tornan, had been Abbot of both places: and, on the resignation of the chief prelacy of Armagh by Maolmogue O'Morgair, in 1137, Gilla mac Liag, the Erenach of Derry, was appointed his successor. It may have been the case, therefore, that the strong sympathy which united the members of the two institutions, may have led some of those of influence in Derry to stir up Conor O'Lochlainn to a war, having for its principal object the maintenance of the existing order of affairs connected with the abbacy of Armagh, and in which he would be the less slow to engage, where the people to be warred upon were his old enemies in *Dalaradia* and Moycova.

It might seem a natural order for us to pursue here, on having brought our account of Maolmogue's life as far as to the period of the Coarb Kellach's death, to resume the continuation of our extracts from the Four Masters, which had been interrupted at that point. But it will be more convenient to complete our abridgement of Bernard's narrative in the first instance, and then to continue the Four Masters' account of the Coarbs from the place referred to onwards.

We have seen that, although such a strong opposition existed at Armagh, to the plan for putting Maolmogue in possession of the Coarbship of Patrick, that any attempt on his part to enter the place would have been likely to lead to acts of violence and bloodshed, yet he consented, at the instance of Malchus, Gille, and the rest of their party, to assume the office of Coarb so far as could be done by asserting his claim to it in those parts of the country, where people might be willing to receive and support him in such a character. Concerning this part of his history S. Bernard (immediately in continuation of the passage on the last page ending with "divine will,") writes as follows.

"Nevertheless he came not into the city so long as that usurper [i.e. the Coarb Murtoth,] lived; lest his doing so might occasion death to any of those to whom he came rather to minister life. In this way did he continue, during two years, (for so long did that other survive,) to act beyond the bounds of the city, exercising his episcopal office energetically throughout the entire province.

"That individual then, having been by a sudden death removed out of the way, once more one *Nigelus*, [a blackish being,] yea one of the very blackest, made a seizure of the See. And Maurice, [i.e. Murtoth,] while yet alive, had made provision for this end, against his own soul, to have for heir one in whom, when he left this world to be damned, he might yet continue to add to his deeds of damnation. For this one was of the same damned progeny, a kinsman of Maurice. But the King and the Bishop, and the faithful of the land, assembled, nevertheless, to introduce Malachy. And now observe the plot engaged in by the malignant adversaries. One of those sons of Belial, prompt at wickedness, able in iniquity, knowing the place where the others had determined on meeting together, associates privily a number of persons with himself, and occupies a neighbouring eminence, one that arose opposite to the position in question, intending, when they should be taken up with other matters, to make a sudden rush upon them, unawares, and murder the innocent. For they had settled on despatching the King as well as the Bishop, that there might none be left to avenge the blood of the righteous."

The result may be given in Dr. Lanigan's abridged statement. "On his discovering their plan, the saint entered a neighbouring church and prayed to God. All of a sudden clouds and darkness, with great rain, changed the day into night, and a dreadful storm came on, accompanied with great thunder and lightning, which killed the leader of that party, and some others of them, besides sorely injuring others, and dispersing

* Down is mentioned as one of the Sees appointed by the Synod, see p. 313 sup. but omitted afterwards when the boundaries come to be specified.

the whole gang, while the storm and whirlwind left St. Malachy's friends untouched, although not far distant." (*Ec. Hist.* iv. 94.)

To this Dr. L. appends the note which follows. "According to the Annals of Innisfallen, at A. 1134, the conspirators were from Tulach-og, now Tullyhogg, in the barony of Dungannon, county of Tirone, and the transaction is thus stated; 'the Kineal-Eogan, (Thironians) of Tulach-Og, conspired against Maolmaodhog, (Malachy,) bishop of Armagh, and twelve of them were struck dead by lightning on the very spot where they were forming the conspiracy against the holy man.'"

"In the thirty-eighth year of his age," continues Bernard, "poor Malachy, on the expulsion of the usurper, entered Armagh as Pontiff and Metropolitan of all Ireland. But when the king and those others that had been the means of introducing him into the place, had returned to their own quarters, he remains, in the hand of God, and for him remain fightings without, and fears within. For lo! that generation of vipers, gnashing their teeth, and vociferating their complaints of being robbed of their inheritance, work themselves up every where, within and without, into a rage against the Lord, and against his Christ.

"Nigellus, [i.e. Niall,] seeing that nothing remained for him save to betake himself to flight, carried away with him certain insignia belonging to that Church, [i.e. the Church of Armagh,] viz. the Text of the Gospels which had belonged to Blessed Patrick, and a staff overlaid with gold, and adorned with most precious jewels, which they call the *Staff of Jesus*, because that the Lord Himself (as the supposition goes) had borne it in his own hands, and been [originally] the framer of it. And these symbols are looked upon by the people of that country as objects of the very highest dignity and veneration. For they are universally known, and of the greatest possible celebrity among the various tribes [of the Irish,] and are held in such reverence by them all, that whosoever they see to be in possession of them, him that foolish and senseless people are wont to receive as their bishop.

"With these sacred *insignia*, then, did this vagabond wretch go about, like another Satan, moving to and fro in the land, and walking up and down therein. And exhibiting them everywhere, he obtained every where a reception for their sake, winning himself the feelings of all classes by their means, and withdrawing from Malachy as many of his supporters as he possibly could.

"So wrought he. There was, moreover, a certain one of the more influential members of that unrighteous family, whom the king, before leaving the city, had compelled to swear that he would keep peace with the Bishop, taking from him at the same time a number of hostages. He, nevertheless, after the king's departure, came into the city, and held consultation with his relatives and friends, as to how they might lay hold privily on the holy man, and put him to death. They were, however, afraid of the people." Still it was hoped, that by proceeding cautiously they might gain their end: and, accordingly, on an appointed evening, as Maolmogue was at Vespers in the Church, with all the clergy, and a large gathering of the laity, a message was sent him by this prince, requesting him to come to the house in the town where he then was, to hold an interview for the purpose of establishing a reconciliation between them. They who stood by, suspecting the evil design intended, made answer, that he should rather come to the Bishop, and that the Church was a more suitable place for establishing peace. To which the messengers again replied, "that this was not safe for their prince to attempt:—that he feared for his life, and could not trust himself to the crowds that some days before had well nigh killed him on the Bishop's account." This altercation between the two parties was at length interrupted by Maolmogue himself expressing his willingness to go at all hazards. "Suffer me brethren," said he, "to imitate my Master. In vain am I a Christian, if I do not follow Christ. It may be that by this act of humility I shall soften the tyrant: and if not, I conquer still, in rendering, a pastor to a sheep, a priest to a layman, what was properly due from him to me. . . . A bishop, as the chief of bishops says, must not lord it over the heritage [of God,] but be a pattern for the flock: and how a pattern, if not as we have received from Him that humbled Himself so as to become obedient even unto death?" He went accordingly, attended only by three followers, and entering into the house to which he had been invited, found himself in the midst of armed men. But whether it were the case that there had been in reality, after all, no design entertained against his life, or that, as Bernard intimates, his conduct had the effect of disarming their malice, he was received not only with no unkindness, but even with deference and respect; and the prince who had sent for him became thenceforth his devoted supporter and attached friend. "And fear," says Bernard, "fell on all them that were round about him, when they heard how those two of his enemies, that seemed the fiercest and mightiest of their generation, had been thus prostrated by the mighty power of God: I mean, the one of whom we now speak, and the other abovementioned;—one of them subjected bodily to a fearful judgment;—the other mercifully changed in heart;—both wonderfully taken in the counsels they had set themselves to devise."

We may naturally pause here to enquire, who was that Irish king that was so earnest in supporting Maolmogue as the proper Coarb of Patrick, and forcing him upon his opponents at Armagh? And, in considering the question, we may as naturally perhaps enquire again, could it have been Conor O'Lochlainn, "King of the North of Ireland," in whose realm Armagh was included? It seems not, however: as he was the prince by whose doings Maolmogue had been formerly interrupted in his labours in Dalaradia, and driven to the South of Ireland. Nor does there appear any likelihood that he had meanwhile so changed his mind, as to be ready now to support him in the manner described by S. Bernard. Next we may ask, do the Four Masters give us any account of this expedition of the King, the bishops, &c. to instal Maolmogue as Coarb? According to Bernard's testimony, (and theirs,) Murtoigh survived his appointment to the Coarbship five years. And as it was on his death that the expedition referred to must have taken place, if we reckon five years from the appointment of Murtoigh on Kellach's death in April 1129, it will bring us to 1134, as the year at which we are to expect, if any where, some notice of the transactions which are mentioned by Bernard in the part of his memoir of Maolmogue last cited. Have the Four Masters, then, anything on the subject at 1134? The answer to this is, not much. They merely tell us in their usual curt and reserved way, that after Niall had been appointed Coarb in the ordinary manner, a change of Abbots took place in Armagh, Maolmogue being substituted for Niall. But they say not a word about how the change was effected, nor concerning the violent opposition to the proceedings, and excitement connected with it, which Bernard so prominently sets forth in his narrative. Unfortunately, as Dr. O'Donovan remarks, (at A.D. 1132 of the 4. M., p. 1041,) "all the copies of the *Annals of Ulster* known to exist are defective from the end of the year 1131 to 1156," so that from them we can obtain no additional information relative to the transactions now under consideration.

It is a remarkable coincidence, that this gap in the Ulster Annals should commence just about the very period when the unfortunate Niall was expelled from his abbacy at Armagh, and the new order of things introduced into the place by Maolmogue and his friends. Could the original authority on which the Annals of Ulster (as compiled by Cathal Maguire, A.D. 1498) were founded, have been a book of *Annals of Armagh*, which Niall might have carried off with him, (and neglected to have duly continued,) at the time when he took away the *Canoin-Phadruig* and *Bachall-Isa*? Bernard, when writing his Life of Malachy, shortly after the death of the latter in A.D. 1148, states that the usurping family, or perhaps the immediate branch of it, to which Niall belonged, had then become extinct. This might account for the restoration of the volume, in the time of the Coarb Gelasius, to the authorities connected with him at Armagh, so as to have its entries resumed and carried on from A.D. 1156. The great fulness of detail observable in all matters relating particularly to Armagh in the parts immediately before and after the gap, seems not unfavorable to the conjecture here proposed. And Cathal Maguire, who compiled the *Ulster Annals*, was a "*Canon Chorister of Armagh*," and may have had, either personally or hereditarily, such a connection with the place, as might have enabled him to become possessed of the volume containing its old Manuscript Annals, to aid him in the work of the same kind which he was preparing in his island of Senat Mac-Manus in Lough Erne.

The *Annals of Innisfallen* (as published by Dr. O'Connor, in his *Rev. Hib. Scripp.*) labor unhappily under a similar defect; a gap occurring in them also at the same period, which extends from A.D. 1113, (tantamount to 1130 of the vulgar era,) to 1160. But in the interpolated Annals of Innisfallen in the Library of the R. I. Academy in Dublin, (referred to by Lanigan, iv. 98,) there occur, at the year 1134, some rather curious entries, partly corroborated by similar ones in the Annals of the 4. M. and those of Clonmacnoise, which are by no means irrelevant to the elucidation of that part of our ancient history which we are at present studying. The entries referred to in the Innisfallen Annals run thus:—

A.D. 1134. Conor O'Brien and Cormac Mac Carthy marched at the head of a great army of the forces of Munster, Leinster, Conmhaicne, and Meath, together with the Danes of Dublin, Waterford, Corke, and Wexford, Ibh-Eachach in Munster, Cothluighe, and the South of Munster in general; which troops were dispatched both by land and sea into Leath-Chuinn, to force hostages and submission from that entire division of Ireland: till Muireadheach O'Dubhthaigh, the most known and dignified Bishop of Ireland, and Aodh O'Hoisin, his successor to the See of Tuam, founded by Jarlath, came from Turlogh O'Connor to make a peace between Leath-Mogha and Leath-Chuinn, whereupon the aforesaid princes gave quarters to Turlogh O'Connor at the request of the Bishops." [Then follow other notices of war and battle fought in Ireland the same year, including a defeat of Mac Morogh and the Danes of Dublin by Conor O'Brien,] "with great slaughter of the Lagenian troops and those of Ibh-Cinsiolach, [or, *Hy-Kinsheala*, i.e. Wexford territory,] and a total overthrow of Mac Morogh.

"Maolmaodhog O'Morgair sat in the Chair of St. Patrick.

"The Chair of S. Jarlath, (i.e. the Cathedral Church of Tuam,) was forcibly entered by the Dalgais, [i.e. the Dalcassians, of Clare, subjects of Conor O'Brien. R.K.]

"Doire-Choluim-Chille, [i.e. Derry,] the three churches of Rath-luig, [or Rath-luraigh, i.e. Maghera, Co. Derry,] Rath-phoe, [i.e. Raphoe,] and Cluain Ioraird, [i.e. Clonard, Co. Meath,] a part of Conga, Eithne, Roscommon, Rosmor, and several other principal churches, were plundered and burnt by the Momonians, [i.e. Munster-men,] headed by the sovereign king of Munster." [Then follows (under the same year, 1134,) an account of a quarrel between the two kings of Munster, Cormac Mac Carthy, and Conor O'Brien, which was accompanied with further fighting and bloodshed.]

The *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, at A.D. 1135, record some of the events which appear to belong to 1134: but they do not mention the great expedition to the north, above-described, as undertaken by the kings of Munster in the latter year; although they do speak of those two kings as engaging in a joint expedition of the kind which was attended with mischief to some parts of Connaught, thus:—

"A.D. 1135. . . . Cormack Mac Carhie, and Connor O'Bryen, with their forces of Munster, came to Connought, where they cleered the places [passes] of Rabehia and Belfada; they burnt the two Corkes, and Mogorne and Dunmore, and also killed Cahall mac Cahall, prince of Connaught, [&c.] . . . There was a meeting of Connour O'Bryen, king of Munster, and King Terlagh O'Connor, with all the clergy of Munster, at Avall-kehernye, where there was a truce for one year confirmed between them," &c. &c.

The interpolated Innisfallen Annals are a compilation made in the last century, and so, of no authority as ancient records. But from whatever source the entries in them at A.D. 1134, abovesited, were derived, they appear to agree well with Bernard's account of the institution of Maolmogue O'Morgair into the primacy of Armagh. According to the statement of Bernard, already given to the reader, that institution was effected by an Irish king, and a number of bishops, who assembled, accompanied by sufficient forces to effect an entrance for their favorite into his new residence, and also to extort hostages as a security for his non-molestation from a local dynast; and, having brought Maolmogue into Armagh, and obtained such pledges for his safety, left him there, and returned again to their own quarters. What the name of the king concerned in this transaction was, neither St. Bernard nor Lanigan inform us. But it appears, from considering together all the circumstances of the case, that it could have been no other person than Conor O'Brien, King of Thomond.

According to our Irish historians, (O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, P. iii. c. 94. &c.) there followed on the death of Donnall O'Lochlain, king of Ireland, who departed this life on Feb. 9, 1121, an interregnum of fifteen years' continuance, during which none of the provincial kings was possessed of sufficient power to establish his claim to the supreme monarchy of the whole island; until Turlogh O'Connor assumed it in 1136, although still not allowed to hold undisputed supremacy. Concerning this interregnum, Ware, however, (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) speaks doubtfully. "There are some," says he, "who assert that there ensued an interregnum of 15 years. But with what truth, let others investigate." Certain it is, that among the claimants of the sovereignty during the period of the supposed interregnum, Conor O'Brien was one of the most powerful, if not absolutely superior to all his competitors. "Turlogh O'Connor," says Dr. Lanigan, "rose to such preeminence that he has been called king of Ireland. Yet we find, that during part of his reign, Conor O'Brien possessed great power, and that, besides being sovereign of Leth-mogha, he claimed hostages and obedience from all the other princes of Ireland." (*Ec. Hist. iv. 51*, and *Annals of Innisfallen*, at A.D. 1138, and 1142, there cited.) Turlogh, as Colgan (cited by Lanigan in the same place), observes, "was one of those Irish kings, who, like Domnall Mac-Lochlin, [i.e. Donnall O'Lochlainn,] and others, were styled *refragable*; inasmuch as their title and claims to the sovereignty of all Ireland were disputed and opposed by other kings and princes."

Now, 1134 being, as we have seen, the year in which "the King and the Bishops, and the faithful of the land," assembled together, and escorted Maolmogue into Armagh, the only king at all likely to have engaged in such an undertaking in that year, was evidently Conor O'Brien. And when we find that in the same year, this prince and Cormac Mac Carthy, the very two to whom the dying Coarb Kellach had left it in charge to effect the establishment of Maolmogue O'Morgair in the Coarbship of Patrick at Armagh, were occupied in such a great military expedition against the north, to secure its hostages and obedience, nothing appears more likely than that one of the principal objects, if not the direct object, of so vast an armament, was to fulfil that injunction connected with the first ecclesiastical dignity of their native isle, which had been laid upon them by the last will of the venerated Kellach, and "the authority of St. Patrick," their great Apostle. Then, we find it stated, that many principal churches of Connaught, Meath, and Ulster, including those of Derry and Maghera, were in this same year plundered and burned by Conor O'Brien and his Munster-men. "These devastations," says Dr. Lanigan, (*iv. 98.*) "must have been a part of those committed by the great army, composed of Irish and Danes, which he and other princes led in that year against Leth-cuinn, or the northern half of Ireland." But, what was it that led to such outrages on ecclesiastical property, in particular, by an army under such leaders as the two kings of Munster? What more likely, than that it was a spirit of resistance and opposition to the great object for which those princes were so much interested,—to their plan for the reorganisation of the Irish church, the subversion of the existing order of succession at Armagh, and the alienation to other hands of the landed property connected with the old coarbships in that and other places in the country. It is true, that although S. Bernard's account appears to imply that Conor O'Brien entered Armagh, accompanying Maolmogue into the city, yet no mention of any outrage on its church is included among those which are spoken of in the Innisfallen Annals. But, when the clergy of Armagh saw churches connected with their own so closely as those of Derry and Maghera, both nearer to the northern seat of royalty than their own, and the latter within some 30 miles of them, suffer as they did on this occasion, it is probable that their prompt submission to what was required of them, and unresisting reception of Maolmogue for their chief pastor, may have saved them from being subjected at that time to any like violence.

That the injuries done to the ecclesiastical establishments abovementioned, were not the result of any general feeling of hostility towards the church, or disregard of her interests, would appear sufficiently plain, if only from considering that the two princes concerned in that great expedition against the North, were both men distinguished for a character quite the opposite of that which would be likely to engage them in such acts. Conor O'Brien was the representative of a family noted for munificence towards the church, and attachment to her ministers. He had himself, (at some period of the six years ending with 1124,) exhibited such munificence, in supplying the Irish monks of St. Peter's at Ratisbon with funds for the erection of a new monastery in that city. "Conor O'Brien," says Dr. Lanigan, "gave them plenty of money, which, on their return, was laid out in erecting the noble monastery of St. James." (*Ec. Hist. iv. 57.*) And, according to his namesake, the author of the *Irish Dictionary*, this same Conor was known by the name of Conor *Slapar-salach*, i.e. *Draggle-tail*, "from his regal robes being often spattered with mortar by mounting on the scaffolds of masons in building his churches;" (*Dict. Voce, Slapar.*) although the erection of castles and forts, perhaps, may have been more frequently the occasion of his untidiness of trim. The religious disposition of his friend Cormac Mac Carthy, (which has been already referred to at p. 88 *sup.*) was no less plainly manifested in different acts of his: as, for instance, in his erection of two churches at Lismore, and one at Cashel, in the year of his restoration to the throne of Desmond. Or rather, perhaps, he commenced the erection of them in that year, 1127; for the one at Cashel at least would seem not to have been completed for some years after, as its consecration took place only in 1134.

The transactions which have been above recorded, on the authority of the interpolated Annals of Innisfallen, are received by Dr. Lanigan, and others of our historians, as sufficiently well authenticated facts; and are so represented in the learned Ecclesiastical History of Ireland of the former. They appear to harmonise well with Bernard's testimony; and are corroborated also in part, as we have seen, by the Annals of Clonmacnois. They have also the stamp of the authority, whatever it be worth in this instance, of the Four Masters themselves, in various entries inserted into their Annals at the years 1133, 1134, 1135; as we shall be able to see presently on continuing to that period our extracts from those Annals, the series of which has been interrupted from A.D. 1129, at p. 87 *sup.*

The prince whom S. Bernard speaks of as having formed a conspiracy against Maolmogue, and afterwards becoming reconciled to him, would seem to have been no other than Conor O'Lochlainn, by whose means Maolmogue had formerly been expelled from the North. The language used by Bernard, (already cited on the previous page,) would indeed appear to describe more properly some inferior dynast. But this may have arisen from that writer's imperfect acquaintance with local arrangements relative to the government of Ireland: and, on the other hand, it would have been a very strange and unintelligible proceeding for Conor O'Brien to have exacted hostages from a local chieftain, as a security for his behaving peaceably towards the new Coarb at Armagh, while, at the same time, leaving the king of the district which included Armagh to pursue his old courses of hostility towards the same individual, and to expel or despatch him the first convenient opportunity that he might be able to lay hold of. If, therefore, we conclude from the statement of Bernard in question, that Conor O'Brien asserted on this occasion a claim to supremacy over his great northern rival, so as to become, in fact, entitled, at least for a time, to the name of supreme king of Ireland, we shall be adopting an inference apparently just enough; and one, moreover, which agrees perfectly well with that statement of Dr. Lanigan, (from the *Annals of Innisfallen*, already quoted,) which asserts, that Conor O'Brien, "besides being sovereign of Leth-mogha, claimed hostages and obedience from all the other princes of Ireland." Accordingly, it appears, that it was by the aid of a king of Limerick, that the great favorite and favorer of Rome, whose life we are describing, was enabled to supplant the old race of Coarbs in this place, and establish himself by force in the position of dignity which they had so long enjoyed on the old hill of St. Patrick. But let us hear how he behaved himself, and how he succeeded, according to Bernard, in his new office.

"This affair," says our author, (i.e. the conspiracy against Maolmogue,) "having so terminated, the bishop now began to order and settle with the utmost liberty all matters in the city appertaining to his ministry. Not, however, without continual risking of his life, for, although there was now no person that would openly molest him, still there was no place so safe, no time so sacred, as to afford the Bishop complete security from secret conspirators. There were, therefore, armed men appointed to guard him by day and by night. Yet was it in the Lord, rather, that he preferred to place his chief confidence."

"His purpose was to hunt down the schismatic aforesaid, [i.e. Niall,] seeing that he was seducing members, by means of the *insignia* which he took with him, persuading them all that he was the one that ought to be bishop, and in this way stirring up the people against Malachy and the Church's unity. And this purpose he carried into effect; and did, without difficulty, so closely hedge him about in all his paths, through the grace given him of God, and the influence he possessed with all classes of persons, that that evil minded opponent was forced to submit, give up the *insignia*, and keep quiet ever after in all subjection." (See pp. 34, 35, *sup.*)

From this and other passages in S. Bernard's Memoir, as compared with the notices bearing on the same particulars which occur in our Irish Annals, it would seem that Bernard was led to entertain a rather exaggerated estimate of the influence exercised over his countrymen by the mere simple-minded piety of Maolmogue; and that the accounts of his Irish friend's doings, received by the goodnatured abbot of Clairvaux, from that friend himself, or from others of his countrymen who survived him, were more or less characterised by a little of that warm and lively

coloring and embellishment, from which, as we know, the descriptions of native scenery and circumstances, by the men of Ere, on pilgrimage in other lands, have not been always accurately free.

At all events, Maolmogue, according to our author, succeeded in putting down all opposition at Armagh. One or two miraculous occurrences, alleged to have promoted this consummation, we may, with advantage, omit here. Suffice it to say, that in one way or another, before very long, the whole family that had opposed the new arrangement relative to the primacy, "the seed of Canaan," as Bernard calls them, became utterly extinct: if at least we may rely fully on the testimony of that writer concerning the matter, expressed as follows:—

"From this time forward, there was none that would venture to murmur against him, those that were of the seed of Canaan saying: 'Let us flee before Malachy, because the Lord is fighting for him.' But it was too late. For the wrath of the Lord, which met them in every direction, pursued them even unto extermination. How has their memory, within a few days, come to a fearful end! How have they been brought to desolation, perished suddenly, and been swept away for their iniquity! Greatly are men struck, even to this day, with the miracle of such a swift extinction as befel that race:—they especially that had known their former pride and power."

"Now, therefore, that retribution had, within a period of three years, been rendered to the proud, and liberty restored to the church, barbarianism banished, and reforms agreeable to the character of the Christian religion introduced in all places, Malachy began to think of peace for himself. And, steady to his purpose, he substituted in place of himself, Gelasius, a good man, and one deserving of such an honour: the clergy and people conniving at the proceeding, or rather, supporting him in it, in consequence of their engagement. For, otherwise, it seemed to them altogether a hard case. Who, having been consecrated, and warmly recommended to the kings and princes, he himself returns, with a character famous for the miracles he had wrought, and the triumphs he had won, to his own parish, [*i.e.* diocese;] but not to Connor. And, hearken to the cause,—a cause worth telling. That diocese is reported to have included anciently two episcopal sees, so as that there were two bishoprics there. That seemed to Malachy the more desirable arrangement. The territories, therefore, which ambition had united into one, Malachy re-divided into two; conceding part to another bishop, retaining part for himself. And for this cause came he not to Connor, *vis.* that he had already ordained a bishop in that place: but came to Down, dividing the parishes, as in the days of old. O the disinterested soul! O the dovelike eye!" &c., &c.

This part, about the motives which induced Maolmogue to betake himself to Down, appears to be marked a good deal by that flowery and ornamental character abovenoticed, and agrees but indifferently with the historical facts recorded in our native Annals. For instance, if a regard for antiquity had influenced Maolmogue to separate Down from Connor, in consequence of there having existed bishops in both places before the Synod of Rathbreasail, the same reason should have caused him to restore also some others of the several old sees, or rather, *places where bishops had flourished, at one time or another*, included within the same limits, (*i.e.* the limits of his former diocese of Connor,) among which are on record those of Nendrum, in Strangford Lough, Moville, near the site of the present Newtownards, Bangor, Armoyn, Coleraine, Dromore, &c. (See Reeves's *Antt. Down*, &c.)

Maolmogue, we are told, now commenced labouring in Down with his usual earnestness and assiduity; receiving withal very warm support from all classes of persons there, including the noble and influential, as well as those of less elevated rank. But matters had by this time been brought sufficiently far forward to admit of his now taking another very important step in advance, towards the complete introduction into Ireland of the ecclesiastical system then in operation in other parts of Europe. Concerning this part of his history, Bernard writes in the manner following:—

"He, meanwhile, was going out and coming in, casting abroad his seed, and determining and disposing of matters ecclesiastical with full authority, as one of the Apostles. And none said unto him, 'By what power doest thou these things?' as they all saw the signs and wonders that he was working, and that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

"It seemed to him, however, not sufficiently safe to proceed with such undertakings *without the authority of the Apostolic See*. And he begins to think, accordingly, of making a journey to Rome: and especially because the metropolitan see [*i.e.* Armagh,] was to this time, and from the very first had been, destitute of the use of the Pall, which is the plenitude of honour. And it seemed to him that it would be a good work, if, by his exertions and pains, the church for which he had laboured so much might obtain that distinction which it had never before been possessed of. There was likewise another metropolitical see, which Celsus had newly constituted; subordinate, however, to the first see, and to its archbishop, as primate: and for this also Malachy was not less desirous to obtain a Pall, and a confirmation, by authority of the apostolic see, of the prerogative to which, by favor of Celsus, it had become entitled. His intention, becoming known, displeased his brethren, as well as the nobles and people of the land. For all regarded as an insupportable trial, so long an absence of one that was the affectionate parent of them all. And besides they had their fears lest he might die."

What increased their uneasiness, according to Bernard's account, at the thought of Maolmogue's projected expedition, was the circumstance, that just about this time, his brother, Christian O'Morgair, Bishop of Clogher, died. He was one, we are told, who was "full of grace and power, second to his brother, indeed, in public reputation, but at the same time nothing inferior to him, perhaps, in sanctity of life and zeal for righteousness." And a greater dislike was therefore entertained to the idea of Maolmogue's leaving the country, "lest it should be left altogether desolate, if deprived at one instant of two such pillars." But Maolmogue was not to be detained by their remonstrances. He accordingly took his departure, accompanied by "five presbyters, besides other ministers and clerks;" (not, however, until he had substituted one of his disciples, named Edan, in his brother Christian's place;) and arriving first in Scotland, passed on through York to the south of England, and sailed for the Continent. On his way to Italy he paid a visit to the famous monastery of Clairvaux, and thus had for the first time an opportunity of making the acquaintance of its distinguished abbot, who afterwards became so greatly attached to him, and who also wrote that sketch of his life which we have quoted so largely in what precedes. Of the visit now spoken of, Bernard writes thus:—

"To me also was it given, on occasion of this journey, to see the man: and in seeing him, and listening to his words, have I been delighted and refreshed, as in all manner of riches. And I in turn, sinner as I am, found grace in his eyes thenceforth and ever after, as I have already mentioned in the preface. He also, when deigning thus to visit and lodge at Clairvaux, was greatly affected at seeing our brethren. And they, by his presence and conversation, were not a little edified. And so, bearing with him in his affection the place and ourselves, to be the cherished objects of his inmost love, he bade us farewell, and took his departure across the Alps."

"The Apostolic See was at that time occupied by Pope Innocent the Second, of happy memory, who gave him a benign reception, and cheered him by his kindly sympathy after the long pilgrimage he had just accomplished. And now, Malachy's first care being to secure that in which his heart had become most deeply engaged, he began to make entreaty, with many tears, to be allowed to live and die at Clairvaux, with the permission and benediction of the Supreme Pontiff. And this he applied for, not losing sight of that object for which he had come, but influenced by the longing affection for Clairvaux that he brought with him. His desire, however, he did not obtain, the apostolic personage [applied to] determining that he should rather be occupied in pursuing further his fruitful exertions. Yet was he not wholly disappointed of his heart's desire, it being granted him to die, although not to live, there."

"His stay in the city [*i.e.* in Rome,] he continued for an entire month, visiting the various holy places there, and frequenting them for the purpose of prayer. And when, during this period, the Supreme Pontiff had made repeated and careful enquiries of himself and those that were with him, relative to the state of their country, the habits of the people, the condition of the churches, and the mighty works which God had wrought in the land by his means, as he was now preparing to return to his home, he [*i.e.* Innocent,] entrusted him, [*i.e.* Maolmogue,] with vicarial authority from himself, constituting him his Legate for all Ireland. For it had been signified to him by Bishop Gillebert, who, as we have stated above, had previously been Legate, that old age and bodily infirmity had rendered him unable to serve any longer in that stewardship."

"After this, Malachy makes application for a confirmation of the appointment of the new metropolis, [*i.e.* of Cashel,] and, also, to have palls for both sees entrusted to his care. And the privilege of the confirmation, indeed, he received presently. 'But, in regard to the Palls,' observes the Supreme Pontiff, 'we must proceed more solemnly. Convoke the Bishops and Clergy, and the Nobles of your country, and celebrate with them a general Council: and then, with the consent, and by the common vote, of all, you can by persons of creditable character make request for the Pall, and it shall be given you.' Then, taking the mitre off his own head, he placed it on his head;—nay, moreover, gave him the stole and maniple that he had been wont himself to wear when offering. And after having saluted him with a kiss of peace, and given him the support of his apostolic benediction and authority, he sent him away."

"Returning by way of his loved Clairvaux, he bestowed on us a second benediction. And sighing deeply at its not being permitted him to remain, as he desired. 'Take, I pray you,' said he, 'meanwhile, these friends, and keep them with you, that they may receive instruction, to be afterwards communicated to us:' adding, 'They shall be unto us a seed, and in that seed shall nations be blessed:—even those nations that from the days of old have heard indeed the name of a monk, but have never seen a monk.' And leaving behind four of those who accompanied him, he went his way. Who, having been proved, and found worthy, were made monks. After some time, when the holy man was now in his own land, he sent over others: and with them was done likewise. Who having been for some time under instruction, until their hearts were well grounded in wisdom, we sent them forth, appointing for father over them our holy brother Christian, [*i.e.* O'Conaiche, see p. 91, *sup.*] who was one of them, and adding of our own so many as would suffice to complete the number needed for an Abbey. Which [Abbacy, so formed,] conceived, and gave birth to five daughters: and in this way does the seed sown multiply, and the number of monks increase daily, according to the desire and prophetic statement of Malachy."

These lengthened extracts from S. Bernard would give occasion for many remarks on their contents, did our space admit of them. The

most obvious must, however, be left to the reader's intelligence and sagacity to add for himself. And it will suffice here to observe, that where it is said that the nations, or tribes, of Ireland, had heard the name of *monk* made use of, but had never seen a real one, the meaning plainly is, that the persons connected with the body in this country had about them, in the eyes of the Abbot of Clairvaux, so little of the real character properly belonging to the monastic institute, that they were but monks in name, and had yet to learn what a true monk was. And indeed it is worthy of remark, that we read but little of monks under that name (*manach*), in the early Irish Annals before the twelfth century, the various individuals of note whose obits occur in them being called rather by such names as *seniors*, *sages*, (*seanoir*, *eruith*, or *saoi*,) &c.; whereas the name (*manach*), of *monk* is applied to those foreign ones introduced by Maolmogue, &c., very commonly.

Maolmogue, returning home through Scotland, was kindly entertained by King David on the way, and is said to have effected in return a miraculous cure for his son Henry, who was then suffering from illness. Not inclining, however, to make any delay there, he took ship for Ireland, and arrived, after a prosperous voyage, at his old monastery of Bangor, to the very great delight of his friends in that part. And as soon as his return became more generally known, similar feelings of rejoicing shewed themselves all around, the people coming "from their cities, and castles, and country parts, to see him; and whithersoever he went, he was received with universal exultation;" for, independently of all other considerations, the man that had made in those days a journey to Rome, and had come safely back to Ere, was a natural object of wonder and admiration among his countrymen. His return Dr. Lanigan assigns to A.D. 1140.

"But it is not," says Bernard, "the receiving of honors, that engages his attention: but rather, the execution of the duties belonging to his legateship. In various places various conventions are assembled, so as that no district, or part of a district, should be left without its share of the fruits and advantages of his legatine office. The seed is sown upon all waters: there is no one able to hide himself from the influence of his anxious care. Not sex, not age, not condition, not profession, enters into his calculations. Among all alike the health-giving seed is scattered: among all alike the heavenly trumpet sends forth its note. To every quarter he speeds to pay his visits: to every district he rushes forth with the drawn sword of his tongue, to execute vengeance among the nations, and rebukes among the people. His terror falls on them that do evil. He proclaims to the ungodly;—Cease from your ungodly ways; and to the transgressors;—Lift not up your horn. Religion is planted, propagated, cherished in every quarter. His eyes are upon them, and his care employed for their necessities. In the councils which are celebrated in all parts of the land, traditions of ancient date are revived, including, however, such only as were of acknowledged value, although become obsolete through negligence on the part of those of the sacerdotal order. Nor is it only that those old ones are restored; new ones also are devised. And all appointments promulgated by him, like decrees issued from heaven itself, are adopted, enforced, and secured in written records, in order to their preservation for posterity."

"Ever from the day of his conversion,* to the end of his life, he lived without private property. No servants had he; no handmaids, no country seats, nor see lands, nor revenues, in short, of any kind, ecclesiastical or secular, even when bishop. For his episcopal table there was nothing whatsoever provided or appointed, whereon a bishop might live: and not even a house of his own was he possessed of. But he was almost incessantly going round all the [different] parishes, [i.e. dioceses, of the country,] serving the Gospel, and living of the gospel, as the Lord had appointed him, saying, *The labourer is worthy of his hire*. Except that, not unfrequently, making the Gospel itself free of charges, he would bring with him some portion of the fruit of his own labors, or of those of his own people, whereof to support himself and the others that were sharing in the labors of his ministry. Then, if ever he found occasion to rest for a time, it was his custom to do so in those holy places which he had himself planted in all parts of Ireland. And with whomsoever it had pleased him to make a sojourn, to their manners and observances he would accommodate his own, contenting himself with their ordinary fare and way of living. There was nought in his food, nought in his raiment, whereby Malachy could be distinguished from his brethren: so much did he, exalted as he was, humble himself in all his ways. Finally, when he went forth to preach, with his companions about him on foot, on foot went he himself too, the one that was Bishop and Legate! This was the apostolic method of proceeding, and so much the more worthy of observation in Malachy's case, as it is but too seldom to be seen followed by others. A true heir of the Apostles he, whose life was such as this!

"But it is worth while to notice after what sort he shares this inheritance with his brethren, like him descendants of the Apostles. They lord it over the heritage [of God:] he, while free from all men, made himself servant of all. They either eat without preaching the Gospel, or else, preach the Gospel that they may eat. Malachy, imitating Paul, eats, that he may preach the Gospel. They regard godliness as a foundation for pomp and gain. What Malachy claims for his inheritance, is, labour and travail. They think themselves happy, if they can but extend their borders. What Malachy glories in is extending his charity. They gather into their barns, and fill their wine-casks with what will suffice to burden their tables. Malachy gathers, in deserts and solitudes, materials whence to fill the skies. They, after having gotten in tithes and first-fruits, and oblations, aye and of Caesar's benevolence, taxes also, and tributes, and other sources of income, to no end, are nevertheless of anxious mind, what they shall eat, and what they shall drink. Malachy, destitute of any of those advantages, yet enriches many out of the storehouse of faith. Their coveting, and their uneasiness, know no bounds. Malachy, coveting nothing, yet knows not of thinking for the morrow. They exact from the poor, what enables them to give to the rich. He solicits from the rich, what may enable him to sustain the poor. They make empty the purses of their subjects. He loads the altars with vows and peace offerings for their sins. They erect stately palaces,—exalt their towers and fortresses to heaven. Malachy, without having where to lay his head, does the work of an Evangelist. They mount their horses, and go forth with their bands of men, that eat the bread which costs them nothing, not that which is their own. Malachy, surrounded by his college of holy brethren, goes about on foot, bearing with him angels' food, to satisfy the souls of the hungry. They will not so much as recognise the people of their flocks. He labours to instruct them. They honour the mighty and the proud. He chastises them. O Apostolic man! whose character bears the noble stamp of so many and such mighty signs of his apostleship. What wonder, then, if wonderful deeds were wrought by one himself so wonderful. Yet not by him, but God, in him. *For thou, (saith the Scripture,) art the God that doest wonders.*"

Whether the people of the Diocese of Connor, among whom Bishop Maolmogue had been waging spiritual war, attended on all occasions by "that holy company of his disciples, that were never absent from his side,"—those people who knew nothing of the rendering of tithes or offerings, until he had instructed them in the nature, and necessity for the payment, of such tributes, would fully agree in some of the statements of Bernard, now quoted, appears not very certain. It seems pretty clear, however, that the shining merit of extraordinary veneration for the church of Rome and its head, on the part of his Irish friend, was a virtue which, in Bernard's eyes, added a double lustre to all others to be met with in the same personage, if it did not actually assist materially in calling into being others that may never otherwise have existed.

To the part of Maolmogue's life now under consideration belong three letters of some interest, addressed to him by S. Bernard, and relating chiefly to the introduction into Ireland of the monks of Bernard's order, whom they had agreed on establishing in this island. (They may be seen in Archbp. Ussher's *Sylloge*, Nos. 42, 43, 44.) In the first, the writer intimates, that, whereas a desire has been expressed to him that two of those monks should be sent over before the rest, in order to select a suitable spot for their first establishment in Ireland, on consulting with his brethren, it had been determined that it was better not so to separate those who were to go: that all would be ready before very long; and that Maolmogue himself might fix on a suitable position for them; a place that might be circumstanced somewhat like Clairvaux itself, "a part from the turmoils of the world." In the second, Bernard states, that, in compliance with Maolmogue's request, he now sent over to him a small company to form "a seed" of the new order for Ireland;—a seed sown by himself, and to be watered by his correspondent. The third of these letters throws a somewhat fuller light on the kind of intercourse then maintained between the two parties concerned, and appears worth citing here at some length. Omitting an introductory portion, of a rather general character, which forms about a third of the entire epistle, the remainder is of the following tenor:—

"Our children, yea those children that are your own as well as ours, we are the more anxious in commending to your affectionate regards, considering how far they are to be separated from ourselves. You know that our whole confidence in determining to send them, after God, was grounded in this, that it appeared not a lawful course for us to refuse to acquiesce in the prayers of your holiness. Do, then, that which is worthy of you, in embracing and cherishing them in all the bowels of your charity. Never, upon any occasion, let your solicitude and attention on their behalf grow lukewarm, lest that be lost which your right hand hath planted. That the house is already, indeed, making good progress, we have learned, both from your own letter, and also from the statements of our brethren, [which describe it as] multiplying its acquisitions both in temporalities and spiritualities. For which we present our hearty congratulations, and with all our soul offer thanks to God, and to your paternal solicitude. And seeing that there is still need of great watchfulness, (*as in a new place, and in a land unaccustomed to monastic religion, yea, that has never even had any experience therein*), we beseech you, in the Lord, not to withdraw your hand, but rather what you have begun well, to finish to perfection."

"As for our brethren that have returned from that place, we, for our part, should have been well pleased had they remained. And possibly some occasion was afforded them, in the less disciplined habits of the brethren of your country; in this, especially, that they appear less readily to acquiesce in their suggestions relative to those matters wherein they themselves had previously had no experience."

"Our and your dearest son Christian, we send back to you as fully instructed as has been possible, in what relates to our order, likely also, as we trust, to take henceforth an increased interest in its observances. Nor must you wonder that we send not with him a larger number of brethren: as we neither found among our brethren suitable ones readily disposed to acquiesce; nor felt inclined to force the reluctant. Our

* N.B. "Conversion," with writers of the middle ages, is used to signify entering into orders, or into the monastic state. So, in a *Book of Penances*, supposed to have been compiled in the Seventh Century, any clerical person, returning "after his conversion" to cohabit with his wife, is condemned, as well as the wife also, to seven years' penance on bread and water. (See Lanigan, iv. 367.)

dearly beloved brother Robert, like a son of obedience, has in this instance again complied with our entreaties. Yours it will be to second his exertions; that your house may make progress in its buildings and other necessary departments. This suggestion further we offer to your paternal consideration, viz. that you should persuade religious men, and such as you may hope will prove of use to the monastery, to join their order; seeing that this will be most advantageous to the house, and the persons in question will be most easily acted on by your influence. Good health attend your holiness, always remembering us in Christ [our Lord.]”

From this letter it seems, that the French monks under S. Bernard's care had no great relish for the mission to Ireland, those of the latter country not readily adopting their foreign practices and proposed improvements on their own system. Some, it appears, of those that came first over, were soon disgusted with their Irish friends, and making their way home again to Clairvaux, brought back such a report of the state of matters here, and the treatment they had met with, as rendered others of their community not over anxious to try the same experiment. The Order of St. Bernard, or the Cistercian Order, as it was called, took root, notwithstanding, and flourished, in Ireland.

Of the powers of which Maolmogue secured to himself the exercise in his capacity of Legate, a specimen is furnished in his appointment of a bishop for the city of Cork: of which Bernard writes thus:—

“A city of Ireland, named Cork, was without a bishop. The subject of electing one was discussed. A disagreement between opposing parties ensued, each, (as is often the case,) wishing to constitute a prelate of their own choosing, not God's. Malachy, having heard of the dissension, came thither, and convoking the clergy and people, took means to unite the hearts and votes of the discordant parties. And having persuaded them that the whole business ought to be left to himself, on whom devolved the chief responsibility connected with that as well as the other churches of Ireland, he immediately nominated to the post, not any of the nobles of the land, but rather one of poor condition, whom he knew to be holy and learned, but who belonged to a different part of the country. He is sought for . . . [and at length brought] to Malachy, who took and placed him in the episcopal chair, the clergy and people confirming the act by their approbation.”

Of the opposition which Maolmogue sometimes met with from persons of different views from his own, in matters relating to faith or practice, Bernard gives the following remarkable specimen, connected with the controversy concerning transubstantiation.

“There was in Lismore a certain clergyman, of exemplary life, as it is said, but whose faith was of a different character. He being wise to some extent in his own eyes, presumed to say, that in the Eucharist there was but a Sacrament, and not the substance of a Sacrament: that is, only a sanctifying [of the element,] and not any corporeal reality. On which subject having been spoken to by Malachy in private, and that repeatedly, but all to no purpose, he is summoned to a public inquiry, apart however from the laity, that he might, if possible, be brought to amendment, and not be confounded. In a meeting, therefore, of the clergy, the man was given opportunity to answer in defence of his opinion. And when he attempted, with all the power of a genius of no mean order, to assert and defend his erroneous views, Malachy disputing against them and exposing their unsoundness, overcome in the judgment of all present, he left the meeting, confounded indeed, but not amended. His remark was, that he was not beaten by reasoning, but overpowered by the bishop's authority. ‘And you, Malachy,’ adds he, ‘have confounded me without cause to day, in that you have spoken in opposition to the truth, and against your own conscience.’

“Grieved at seeing the man so hardened, and yet more vexed at the injury done the faith, and alarmed at the peril that assailed it, Malachy convokes the church, argues publicly against the erring individual, admonishes him publicly to repentance. The Bishops, and all the Clergy, urging him to the same effect, upon his refusing to acquiesce, anathematise him as contumacious, denouncing him for a heretic. Not even so brought to his senses, ‘It is the man,’ he says, ‘that you are all favouring, rather than the truth. No respect, however, for persons shall influence me to forsake truth.’ Moved with indignation at such language, the holy man says, ‘The Lord make you to confess the truth, even of necessity.’ ‘Amen,’ replied he; and the meeting thereupon separated.

“Branded with such a stain as this, he now meditates flight, unable to abide the name of dishonor and infamy. And so, taking with him what belonged to him, he was going his way, when a sudden fit of illness obliges him to stay his pace: and his strength failing, he throws himself down upon the ground exhausted and weary. A wandering maniac, coming accidentally to the place, falls in with the man, and asks him what is he doing there. The other makes answer, that he had been seized with serious illness, and was unable either to proceed or return. Whereupon he again says, ‘This is nothing else than your death sickness.’ And these words spake he not of himself: but it was the Lord, who thus appropriately reproved, by the lips of the insane, one that had refused to give heed to the sane counsels of those that had the use of their senses. And he adds, ‘Return home, I will give you help.’ In fine, he returns, with this creature for a guide, into the city; returns to his right mind, and to the mercy of the Lord. In the same hour the Bishop is sent for, the truth acknowledged, error disavowed. He confesses; receives absolution of his offence;—asks for the *viaticum*. It is given to the reconciled offender, and almost in the one instant, his misbelief is rejected orally, and dissolved in death.”

Among other parts of Bernard's narrative, which wear a suspicious aspect, and appear to contain internal evidence of truth and consistency having been at times lost sight of by this lively and brilliant writer, in the flow of eloquence and eulogium, those which relate to his hero's principles and conduct in regard to ecclesiastical property, are deserving of particular attention. Nor does their character, in this point of view, appear to have altogether escaped the notice of the sharp-sighted Lanigan; who, however, employs his best efforts to gloss over the difficulty: as may be seen in the following note of his on the subject: (from his *Ec. Hist.* iv. 116.)

“What is here said,” (i.e. by S. Bernard,) says Dr. Lanigan, “of St. Malachy not having any fixed mensal income, or, as St. Bernard expresses it, that nothing was assigned for the episcopal *mensa*, on which the bishop might live, cannot mean, that there was no property really belonging to the see of Down, but that St. Malachy, who delighted in poverty, did not choose to exact the mensal portion from the *erenachs* or *corbes*, who had got the church lands into their possession and management. In like manner, he refused to accept of the lands, that had belonged to the monastery of Bangor, and allowed them to be enjoyed by a *corbe*. Even while archbishop of Armagh, he possessed no property peculiar to himself; for St. Bernard states, that from the first day of his conversion until his death, he lived without any thing of his own, *sine proprio viziti*. Now it is certain, that there was property, and that considerable, annexed to the see of Armagh; otherwise how could the usurping family have been so eager to keep hold of it, or why should Maurice, [i.e. Murtogh,] and then Neill, or Nigellus, have seized upon it after the death of Celusus? But whatever there was due to the bishop personally, St. Malachy gave it up; yet it cannot be supposed, that the rents or dues necessary for the expenses of the cathedral, the support of the officiating clergy, the repairs of churches, &c., were not exacted. All that St. Malachy could or would do was to resign his own peculiar portion, which he probably ordered to be assigned to the stock intended for the poor.”

But this explanation, whatever it be worth, will not serve to set all to rights; nor will it account for the strange difference observable between the modes of procedure adopted by Maolmogue, as recorded by his friend, in the two very closely similar cases of Bangor and Armagh. In each there had existed for many ages an Irish ecclesiastical establishment of ancient fame, founded by a distinguished saint and father of the Irish church, and governed in after time by a series of most eminent successors. In each case the institution had become possessed of extensive property, and in each that property had become, for some generations previously to Maolmogue's time, the hereditary possession of a particular sept, out of which were elected “corbes,” or nominal abbots, lay persons, to hold, and be the owners of it, for the time being. In the case of Armagh, this course of procedure is represented as a most horrible and crying sin, those that were parties to it being styled, a “sinful and adulterous generation,” a “damned progeny,” “that deserved to be punished with any kind of death.” And eventually Maolmogue is described as at length succeeding in exterminating and supplanting them, though not without repeatedly imperilling his life in the contest. At Bangor, however, Maolmogue becomes himself a party to an arrangement much similar to that which had been, with such passionate indignation, denounced in the case of Armagh: and when the reputed and acknowledged proprietor, *his own uncle*, proposed to restore the possessions of Bangor to his nephew, as abbot of the renewed institution there, for the church's use and benefit, Maolmogue, we are told, through love of poverty, declined accepting for the church what was of right her own, and on the contrary “caused one to be elected, according to custom,” for “corbe,” to be put in possession of the landed property in question. Are we to conclude from this, that the violent struggle engaged in to secure the coarship of Patrick, and wrest it from the hands of the old family, was a contest merely for spiritual power and authority, and that so far as worldly substance or landed property was concerned, Maolmogue had no objection to that portion of the church's interest continuing to be left in the hands of those who had so long usurped it for their own? exhibiting, in fact, every desire, that it should so continue to be held, and belong to coarbs elected according to custom?

Perhaps, after all, it may have been the case, that other influences besides that of a love of poverty for its own sake, may have cooperated in disposing Maolmogue to content himself with the site of Bangor Abbey, allowing its lands to continue still the property of others. At all events, the party that came into possession of them, shewed not much gratitude to him for the advantage; but, displayed, on the contrary, no little hostility towards him, and offered violent opposition to some of his proceedings.

Among the other studies which engaged the attention of the indefatigable Maolmogue, that of ecclesiastical architecture appears to have occupied a place: and one of the improvements which he sought to introduce, or promote, in his native land, was the exemplification of a better style of church-building than what was ordinarily adopted in the country. This was an improvement, however, which was not effected without much opposition, and the excitement of violent ill-feeling, as appears from the following narrative, set forth by our biographer:—

“The person who had been assigned the property belonging to Bangor Monastery, ungrateful for this benefit, behaved himself thenceforth and ever after in the most insolent manner towards him and his, giving him trouble on every occasion, in every quarter laying plots for him, and remarking in a spirit of detraction on his proceedings. But it was not with impunity. He had an only son, who, following his father's example,

and venturing, himself also, to give Malachy some annoyance, met with his death in the course of the same year. It came about thus. It seemed to Malachy, that there ought to be constructed in Bangor an Oratory of stone, similar to those which he had seen erected in other countries. And when he had commenced laying the foundations, the people of the place were struck with wonder at them, because there were as yet no buildings of the sort to be met with in that country. But that evil-minded youth, (presumptuous and insolent fellow as he was,) not content with wondering, must exhibit indignation also. From which indignation he conceived sorrow, and brought forth ungodliness. And, going about as a busy-body among the people, he would occupy himself at one time with secret calumny, at another with open abuse, remarking on the man's unsteadiness of character, expressing a horror at his innovating spirit, and exaggerating the expenses he was incurring.

"By venomous observations of this sort having excited and induced many to join him in hindering the work, 'Follow me,' says he to them, 'and let us not allow that, which should not be done except by our authority, to be done in despite of us.' With as many, therefore, as he could possibly persuade, he comes down to the place, and, finding the man of God, accosts him directly; (the one that was first author of the mischief being first to speak :) 'Good Sir,' said he, 'wherefore have you thought proper to introduce a novelty such as this into our district? We are Scots,* not Frenchmen. What folly is this? What occasion was there for a work so superfluous, so superb, as we have here? Where will a poor and needy creature, such as you, find means to complete it? Who shall see its completion? What presumption it is, to engage in a work you can never, I will not say, finish, but even see finished? This is more a madman's act, than that of a wise person, to attempt what exceeds all moderation, what is quite above your power, and beyond your means. Quit then, quit, cease from this frenzy. At all events, we can not allow it, we shall not endure it.' This he said, betraying, rather, what his will was, than considering how far his power could go. For those on whose aid he had reckoned, and whom he had brought with him, were changed on seeing the object of their attack, and refused now to support its author." [The story then goes on say, that Maolmogue told him in reply, that the work should certainly be finished, but that he should not see its completion : and that the young man accordingly died the same year. Whereupon his father charged Maolmogue with being the author of his death ; but only brought himself into further trouble, by attempting to oppose one of such power and authority as the saintly Legate-Bishop.]

But it is time that we should press on to the closing period of Maolmogue's life. His death took place at Clairvaux, in 1148, but not until he had engaged in a fresh effort to secure for Ireland the honor of the Palls. Of this Bernard speaks in the words following :—

"He was not a little vexed at Ireland's continuing still destitute of the Pall, as being one zealous for Sacraments,† and ill content that his nation should be deprived of the benefit of any single one of them. And remembering the promise that had been made him by Pope Innocent, he was the more grieved to think, that no application had been made for its fulfilment, while he was yet alive. But, having met with a favorable occasion in the circumstance, that Pope Eugenius was now elevated to the supreme government [of the Church], and that word had come that he had, at this very time, arrived in France, he rejoiced at having found so convenient an opportunity of urging the request. He reckoned strongly upon him, as being of such a character, and promoted from such an order : but more especially on account of his having been one of the children of his own Clairvaux : so that with him he did not apprehend that he should meet with any difficulty. The Bishops are, therefore, convoked, a council held, matters requiring immediate attention discussed for three days. On the fourth day, the subject of sending for the Pall is brought before the meeting. The proposal is agreed to, on condition that the request be made through some other agent. However, as the journey was shorter, and the expedition appeared, for this reason, the more tolerable, there was none that would presume to oppose his purpose and will. And so, the assembly having broken up, Malachy sets forth on his journey."

Being, however, subjected to some unavoidable delays in Scotland and England, he was unable to cross the Channel in time to arrive at Clairvaux before Pope Eugenius had left it. He reached the place in October, 1148, and was received with great joy by his friends there. But it was soon to be interrupted. After he had spent four or five days with them, he was seized, on the Festival of St. Luke, (Oct. 18th,) with a fever, which soon terminated fatally. His departure took place on the 2nd of November following, in the 54th year of his age. The description of his dying scene, and of the circumstances connected with it, as given by Bernard, is marked by outpourings of the most pathetic eloquence. But these are topics on which we may not dwell at any further length at present. Suffice it to add, that although Maolmogue succeeded not in his hope to see the Pontiff Eugenius, and ask him for the Palls, yet it was not very long till they were obtained for Ireland. Eugenius, when a monk of Clairvaux, may have heard much there about a country in which the famous abbot of that place was so deeply interested. He could hardly fail to hear somewhat of it on occasion of his visit in 1148, after so much intercourse had occurred between St. Bernard and his monks, on the one hand, and Maolmogue and his Irish friends, on the other. Nor could he, after Maolmogue's death, remain ignorant of the circumstances connected with it, or of the object which had given occasion to his visit. Neither is it likely that Bernard would fail to impress on the pope, who had been one of his own monks, the necessity of attending to the dying desires of their Irish friend. Accordingly, in 1151, this Pope Eugenius sent over his Legate, John Paparo, with the Palls for Ireland ; who distributed them at the Synod of Kells, in March 1152, to the four archbishops, (then first so constituted,) of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam. Thus, Ere at length arrived at "the plenitude of honor," while the Bishop of Rome was at length on the fair way to obtain the plenitude of power, over her long disobedient, stiffnecked, and gainsaying children.

Our account of Maolmogue's life would be incomplete were we not to add, that he was canonised in 1190, or thereabouts, by Pope Clement (the IIIrd. probably,) being the first saint, of those that lived and labored in "the Island of Saints," of whose obligation to a Roman Pontiff for such an honor we have any authentic record. Erard, indeed, supposed to have died in the beginning of the 8th century, was canonised by Pope Leo IX., in 1052, according to Lanigan, (iii. 106.) But he had left Ireland to reside at Ratisbon, in Bavaria : and we speak here only of those numberless other Irish Saints, who flourished in their native land, from the introduction of the Gospel into it until the 12th century.

Resuming now the series of our citations from the Four Masters, interrupted at A.D. 1129, we meet, at A.D. 1130, with one which has been already given in the preceding Life of Maolmogue, (at p. 95, above,) but which, with one or two other shorter ones already similarly given to the reader, may, without inconvenience, be repeated in their proper places among the extracts which follow ; in order that the remaining portion of the series may be as complete in itself as that which has been so far set forth from the Annals, down the death of the famous Kellach.

A.C. 1130. "An expedition was made by O'Lochlain, i.e. Conor, son of Donnell, and the [men of the] North of Ireland, into Ulidia. The Ulidians assembled to give them battle. On their coming up to one another, a fierce battle ensues between them. The Ulidians were in the end overpowered, and a slaughter made of them, wherein fell Hugh O'Linchy, Lord of Dalaradia, Gillapatrik Mac Sherry, Lord of Dalboyn, Durely Mac Artain, and various others beside. And they, [Conor and his forces,] plundered the country as far as to the East of the Ardes, both lay property and churches : and they carried off a thousand prisoners, and many thousands of cows and horses. The Nobles of Ulidia, headed by their Lords, come afterwards to Armagh, to have a meeting with Conor, when they made peace and alliance, and left hostages with him."

The war mentioned in this passage was, as we have already seen, (pp. 94, 95, *sup.*) that which ended in the expulsion of Maolmogue from the North of Ireland, and compelled him to reside for a time as an exile in the South.

A.C. 1131. "Murtogh O'Hanratty, Coarb of Comhghall, died in Armagh, the third of October." (See p. 92, *sup.* note.)

A.C. 1132. "Maolmogue O'Morgair sits in the Coarbship of Patrick, at the request of the clergy of Ireland."

The form of this entry is peculiar, and worth notice. Preceding Coarbs had been appointed by consent of the laity and clergy. (See at A.D. 1020, and 1105, of these Extracts.) But Maolmogue assumed the office *by desire of the clergy*, (Bishops Gille and Malchus in particular,) the wishes of the laity not being, it would seem, taken into consideration in the matter, as usual. He had however, of course, effective support from some of the laity also, Conor O'Brien, &c.

A.C. 1133. "Conaing, son of Dudalehe, Vice-erenach of Armagh, died. . . . Murtogh, Coarb of Patrick, made a visitation of Tirowen, and received his tribute of cows and horses, and left his blessing. . . .

"An expedition was made by Cormac Mac Carthy, and Conor O'Brien, into Connaught, and they killed Cathal, son of Cathal, O'Connor, Prince Royal of Connaught, and Gilla-na-naov O'Flynn, Chief of Sil-Maileiruin, [in the now Co. Roscommon,] and they demolished Dunmore, [now Doon, 4 miles E. of Westport, Co. Mayo,] and Dunmore, [now Dunmore, Co. Galway.] They returned, after all, without hostages. . . .

"A conference was held between Turlogh O'Connor, [king of Connaught,] and Conor O'Brien, with the chief of the clergy of Connaught and Munster, at Awall-Keherney, [i.e. Kearney's Orchard, near Usney, Co. Westmeath,] when a year's peace was made between them. . . .

"A great expedition of all Leath-Mhogha, headed by Cormac Mac Carthy, and Conor O'Melaghlin, [properly, O'Brien. R.K.] was made

* By this name the ancient Irish were commonly called, until about the beginning of the eleventh century ; when it began to be applied exclusively to the inhabitants of Scotland. See the word *Scottish* again used to imply *Irish*, at p. 93, l. 2 *sup.*

† The word *Sacraments* was used in the middle ages not merely to signify those ordinances which are now so called, but so as to include also various other matters connected with religion beside them. So, Bernard calls the *Pall* a Sacrament.

against Connaught, and they slew the grandson of Cathal O'Conor, and Gilla-na-naov O'Flynn, lord of Sil-Mulroney; and burned Dunmorne, and Dunmore, and returned without peace or hostages."

On this last passage Dr. O'Donovan observes; "This is a repetition, [*i.e.* of the Four Masters,] but as it has been evidently copied from a different authority, the Editor deems it right to let it stand."

It is observable that the second entry above suffices to prove, that although Maolmogue O'Morgair had, in 1132, assumed the Coarbship of Patrick, and endeavoured to assert his claim to it in some parts of Ulster, yet in the most important portion of the province, Conor O'Lochlainn's principality of Tyrone, (including the present counties of Derry and Tyrone, &c.,) such claim was not acknowledged, Murtoth being received as Coarb in all that territory, and obtaining his tribute of horses and cows from its people, and leaving them his benediction, as the rightful representative of their great Apostle. Were we, indeed, to credit Bernard's account, Maolmogue, during the last two years of Murtoth's coarbship, discharged energetically the duties of the episcopal office in *all* the Province, (*in universa provincia*,) the city of Armagh alone excepted. But this we must regard as one of those flowery parts of his narrative, where prejudice, in favor of a bosom friend, inclined the Abbot of Clairvaux to speak less accurately in accordance with truth, and to magnify the extent of the labors and acceptance of his favorite, beyond what the testimony of more sober history appears to warrant.

A.C. 1134. "Ivar O'Hegan, by whom was built the Regles, [or Abbey Church,] of Paul and Peter in Armagh, died at Rome on his pilgrimage. . . . The Church, built by Cormac, son of Mac Carthy, king of Cashel, was consecrated by a Synod of the clergy of Ireland, which had assembled together [for the purpose.]"

"Murtoth, son of Donnell, son of Awley, Coarb of Patrick, died after the victory of martyrdom and penitence, on the 17th of September. Niall, son of Hugh, was appointed to the Coarbship of Patrick. A change of Abbots [followed] at Armagh, Maolmogue O'Morgair [being substituted] in place of Niall. Maolmogue [went] afterwards on a visitation tour in Munster, and obtained his tribute."

Here the Annals, we see, mention the death of the Coarb Murtoth in language such as they apply commonly to the decease of good men, recording, in their own style, that he died penitent for his sins, and triumphant over sufferings which he bore with the spirit of a martyr. But, "notwithstanding the good character given of him in the text," says Dr. O'Donovan, "St. Bernard pronounces damnation to him as well as Niall:" stating, that he departed from this life to eternal perdition, to live still, however, in an heir of his own choosing, not less wicked than himself. So opposite were the views taken of some practical matters connected with religion, by the native Irish writers, and the great doctors of the Church of Rome, in those days.

A.C. 1135. "Flann Ua Sionaigh, Warden of the *Bachall-Isa*, died after choice penitence. Maelisa O'Hainmire, *viz.* the Bishop of Waterford, and arch-senior of the Gael, died at Lismore-Mochuda, after the eighty-eighth year of his age. . . .

"Maolmogue O'Morgair, Coarb of Patrick, purchased the *Bachall-Isa*, and took it from its cave the 2nd. day of the month of July.

"Derry-Columkille, with its churches, was burned, on the 30th of March. . . . Clonard, Kells, Rathlury, and many other churches, were burned. . . . Moynee, [Co. Roscommon,] Moylurg, [*ib.*] and Corran, [Co. Sligo,] were burned by the Conmhaicne men. Roscommon was plundered and burned by the same party a month afterwards."

A.C. 1136. "Conor, son of Donnell O'Lochlainn, Lord at first of Oileach, and [subsequently] king of all the North, including the [Kinel-Conaill, and] Kinel-Owen, the Ulidians, and Oriel-men, and Royal Heir of Ireland also, was treacherously assassinated by the men of Moy-Ithe. . . . A visitation of Munster [was made] by Maolmogue O'Morgair, Coarb of Patrick. A change of Abbots [takes place] at Armagh, *viz.* Niall, son of Hugh, [being substituted] in place of Maolmogue. . . . Maolmogue O'Morgair resigned the Coarbship of Patrick for the sake of God."

Here we have Maolmogue, who had already visited Munster in 1134, making a second visitation of the same Province, as Coarb of Patrick. It was, perhaps, the only quarter where he could, with much facility, "obtain his full demand." Nor do we read in the Annals of his having been received in any other territory as a visitor in the same capacity. During his absence in Munster, the friends of the "schismatic" Niall appear to have seized on the opportunity of reinstating their favorite in the abbacy of Armagh. Whereupon Maolmogue, despairing perhaps of being able ever to secure the post completely for himself, thought good to resign his pretensions to it. This was done, say the Annalists, "for God's sake;" *i.e.* to terminate the ungodly strife in which both parties had become involved about the matter.

A.C. 1137. "A[nother] change of Abbots [takes place] at Armagh, *viz.* the Erenach of Derry [being substituted] in place of Niall, son of Hugh.

A.C. 1138. "Gillachrist O'Morgair, Bishop of Clogher, a Doctor of eminence for wisdom and piety, a shining lamp that enlightened laity and clergy, by preaching and practice, a diligent and earnest servant of God, a shepherd over the Church at large, died, and was buried in the *Regles* of Peter and Paul in Armagh.

"Maolpatrick O'Drugan, a Doctor learned in the wisdom of the Irish, Arch-lector of Armagh, Head of the counsel of Western Europe, for devoutness and piety, died on his pilgrimage in the island of Lough-Crea, [*i.e.* at Moin-na-hinnse, near Roscrea, Co. Tipperary,] on the 2nd of January.

"The visitation of Munster [was made] a first time by the Coarb of Patrick, son to the Poet; and he obtained his tribute.

"Cormac, son of Murray Mac Carthy, King of Desmond, and the Bishop-king of Ireland of his age, for bestowing of wealth and valuables on the clergy and the churches, a promoter of civil as well as ecclesiastical improvements, was treacherously assassinated in his own house by Turlogh, son of Dermot O'Brien, and the two sons of O'Conor Kerry."

In the preceding extracts mention occurs twice of the person who, through Maolmogue's influence, (as Bernard tells us, p. 98 *sup.*) was appointed to succeed him in the primacy of Ireland. He is said, at A.D. 1137, to have been previously *Erenach of Derry*; and at A.D. 1138, to have been the son of a Poet. His name, which occurs in various other places of the Annals, though not in either of those just cited, was Gilla Mac Liag, (for which Bernard and other Latin writers commonly substitute *Gelasius*): and he is also called sometimes, the son, and sometimes, grandson, of Rury, or Roderick. It is worth observing, that the name Mac Liag occurs in two or three other places in the Annals, and in each, in connection with poetic reputation, *viz.* at 1015, [*properly*, 1016,] 1030, and 1048. At the first of these places have this entry; "Mac Liag, *i.e.* Murtoth, son of Cuiceartach, Chief Poet (*ard ollav*) of Ireland at that time, died:" on which Dr. O'Donovan adds the note following:—

"*Mac Liag*.—He was chief poet and secretary to Brian Borumha, and is said to have written a life of that celebrated monarch, of which copies were extant in the last century; but no copy of this work is now known to exist. . . . He also wrote several poems still extant. . . . In the Annals of Clonmacnoise *Mac Liag* is called, 'Archpoet of Ireland, a very good man, and one that was in wonderful favor with king Bryan.'"

At A.D. 1030, again, we have, "Cumara, son of Mac Liag, Chief Poet of Ireland, died." And again, at A.D. 1048, the Annals record that "Kenfeladh O'Quill, chief poet (*ollav*), of Munster, son to Cumara, and grandson of Mac Liag, was killed by a son of Teigue O'Mulroney." Of this Kenfeladh, "it is stated, that he wrote a poem of 160 verses on the death of Eoghan, grand-nephew of Brian Borumha, who was killed in Ossory in the year 1027."—O'Donovan. It seems not unlikely that the *Erenach of Derry* chosen to succeed Maolmogue was one of the same family: and if so, we have here again another indication of the influence exercised by the O'Briens of Munster and their friends, in helping to remodel the old ecclesiastical system of Ireland, and accommodate its form to that which existed generally in other lands. The Four Masters, in mentioning the death of Gilla mac Liag at A.D. 1173, state that he was then in the 87th year of his age; and that he had been "in the abbacy of Columkille in Derry, before his promotion to the Coarbship of Patrick, 16 years." Thus he would seem to have been born in 1087, become abbot of Derry in 1121, and of Armagh in 1137; and to have filled the latter office, combined with that of Primate, for about 36 years. This long incumbency, aided by the weight of his high cha-

racter, gave him abundant opportunity to confirm and carry out the plans for church improvement in Ireland set forth by his predecessor Maolmogue. He received the Pall at the Synod of Kells in 1152, and surviving till after the Anglo-Norman Invasion, gave his assent to the Decrees of the famous Cashel Synod, held by authority of Henry II., king of England, in 1172. The first recorded act of Gilla mac Liag as Coarb, was to visit his friends in Munster, and collect his tribute among them.

Gilla-Christ O'Morgair, abovementioned, was brother to Maolmogue, and was the same as "Christian," of whose death a notice occurs, accompanied with terms of such high commendation, in S. Bernard's Memoir of his brother's Life. (See p. 98 *sup.*)

A.C. 1139. "A year's peace made between the men of Munster and those of Leinster by the Coarb of Patrick, and the *Bachall-Isa*. Maelbrighde O'Brolchain, Bishop of Armagh, and Head of the piety of the North of Ireland, a pattern of wisdom, gentleness, and loving-kindness, died, after worthy penitence, on the 29th of January. Niall, son of Hugh, son of Maelisa, Coarb of Patrick for a time, died after intense penitence."

There is something touching,—after all the struggling between Maolmogue and his opponents, concerning the ancient abbacy, and newly created metropolitan archbishopric, of Armagh, which has come under our notice in what precedes,—in our meeting with the quiet obituary notice of one of the *last of the old and independent Bishops of Armagh*, contained in the above extract. The name of Maelbrighde O'Brolchain, although not of sufficient consequence to occupy a place in the narratives remaining to us of that unhappy strife, comes down to posterity with the better memorial of his having been endowed with such personal qualifications, as were associated, in traditions derived from the purest ages of the faith, with the episcopal character. Gentleness, goodness, piety, were the traits of disposition which were honorably acknowledged on his monument. And happy would it have been for Ireland, had those gifts and graces more generally adorned her children, and such of them especially as occupied positions of prominence and influence in Church and State, in the same age.

Ware, in his usual erroneous way, speaks thus of this distinguished individual, in his Life of the Coarb Gille, or Gelasius: "On the 29th of January, 1139, Mael-Bridgid O-Brolchain, Suffragan to this Prelate, (and whom *some call* Bishop of Armagh,) a man of great virtues, died:" the true statement of the fact being, that "Maelbrighde O'Brolchain, Bishop of Armagh, whom *some, (or at least Ware and Harris.)* call Suffragan to Gelasius," died at the time specified. Ware cannot surely but have known, that the "some" who call Maelbrighde *Bishop of Armagh*, include *all* the ancient testimonies available on the subject.

A.C. 1140. "The Coarb of Patrick, [i.e. Gilla mac Liag, went] on a visitation tour in Connaught for the first time; and obtained a liberal tribute. And it was agreed by Turlogh O'Conor and the Nobles of Connaught, to place their churches in subjection to his control. Whereupon the Coarb of Patrick, and his Congregation, left a blessing on the king and on the Nobles of Connaught."

This entry is of interest, as exhibiting the first recorded submission of the Connaught men to the new *regime* introduced by Maolmogue O'Morgair at Armagh, and the first visitation of the place by a Coarb of Patrick since Kellach's time. It also indicates the accuracy of Maolmogue's judgment, as evinced in the choice of one to succeed to the Abbacy of Armagh, whose personal influence might help to continue and complete the ecclesiastical reforms which he sought to introduce into Ireland.

A.C. 1142. "O'Rebechain, Abbot of Lismore-Mochuda, killed by Teigue O'Kennedy Conor, son of Dermot O'Brien, Supreme King of the two Provinces of Munster, Pillar of the valour and prowess of Leath-mogha, died at Killaloe, after the victory of repentance; and the sovereignty of all Munster was immediately thereupon assumed by Turlogh O'Brien."

A.C. 1143. "Murrough O'Melaghlin, King of Meath and its Fortuatha, [i.e. border territories,] was made prisoner by Turlogh O'Conor, king of Connaught, while under protection of the relics [*mind*, 'i.e. sacred relics, for swearing upon,'] and securities of Ireland. They were as follows:—The Altar of Kiaran, [at Clonmacnoise,] with its relics. The Shrine of Kiaran. The Oreineach [or 'gold-ornamented' relic, probably a Crossier.] The Great Matthew, [i.e. a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel.] The Abbot and Prior, and two beside, of each community belonging to the Church. Murray O'Duffy, the Archbishop, the lord of Connaught, and his chieftains. The Coarb of Patrick and the *Bachall-Isa*. The Coarb of Feichin, and Feichin's Bell. And the Boban [i.e. probably a Bell,] of Kevin. All these were pledged between Turlogh and Murrough, that there should be no treachery, no guile, no defection of one from the other, no blinding,* no imprisoning, and no encroaching on Murrough's territory or land, unless his offence were made evident to the sureties, and that they were to pronounce him discharged from their protection. Yet, notwithstanding, was there no offence made manifest against him, although he was taken. He was let out, however, at the end of a month after, through the interference of his sureties, and conveyed by those sureties into Munster: while the kingdom of Meath was given by Turlogh to his own son Conor."

A.C. 1145. "A lime-kiln, sixty feet long on each side, was constructed by Gilla mac Liag, Coarb of Patrick, and the Congregation of Patrick in general, opposite Eamhain-Macha, [i.e. the Navan Fort, as it is now called, on the west side of Armagh.]"

A.C. 1146. "Cormac O'Casey, Archbishop of Leinster, died."

N.B.—This was one of the last of the old race of the Irish "*archbishops*," described at page 16 of this Memoir. Gregory was at this time *Bishop of Dublin*, as he had been since Oct. 2, 1121: and he was made *archbishop*, in the modern sense, at the Council of Kells, March 1152.

A.C. 1147. "Teigue O'Brien was released from his fetters on the intercession of the Bishops of Ireland, headed by the Coarb of Patrick, Maolmogue O'Morgair, Murray O'Duffy, and Donnell O'Lonargan. For it was while under their protection that he had been made prisoner."

A.C. 1148. "The Church of Knock-na-seangan, completed by the Bishop O'Keely, and Donogh O'Carrol, Lord of Oriel, was consecrated by O'Morgair, Coarb of Patrick, and a *Neimheadh*, i.e. church-land, assigned to it in Louth."

"A Synod was convened at Inis-Patrick, by Maolmogue, Coarb of Patrick, at which were present fifteen bishops and two hundred priests, to enact rules of conduct and manners applicable to all, both lay persons and ecclesiastics. Subsequently to which Maolmogue O'Morgair went, in pursuance of a resolution of the Synod, to visit Rome, a second time, for the purpose of communicating with the Coarb of Peter."

"Malachias, i.e. Maolmogue O'Morgair, Archbishop of the Chair of Patrick, Chief Head of the West of Europe, Legate of the Coarb of Peter, the one to whom alone Gall and Gaol alike rendered homage as their Head, a Doctor eminent for his wisdom and piety, a bright shining lamp, that enlightened lay territories and such as belonged to the Church, by preaching and by practice, a shepherd over the Church in general,—after that he had ordained bishops and priests, and persons of every other order also,—after that he had consecrated many churches and burial-grounds,—after having occupied himself in ecclesiastical toils of every description throughout Ireland, after having distributed sustenance and valuables among the mean and the mighty,—after having founded churches and monasteries, (for by him were restored the various sacred edifices throughout Ireland, that had from time remote been consigned to decay, and left neglected and in ruins,) after having left in the churches of Ireland generally, every such rule and every such regulation, as might help to promote order and good conduct, in his discharge for the second time of the Legatine Office, after having been Primate for fourteen years, and after the fifty-fourth year of his age,—resigned his spirit to heaven on the 2nd day of November. And the reason why the Church celebrates the Feast and solemnity of S. Malachias on the third, is that the day was changed, by the Seniors, from the Feast of All Souls to the day after, in order that he might be the more easily commemorated and honored. He was buried, with honor and veneration, in the monastery of S. Bernard at Clairvalis in France."

Knock-na-seangan, spoken of in the first paragraph here, is the Hill of Knock, near the town of Louth. Scarcely a vestige, observes Dr. O'Donovan, of the church mentioned in the text, now remains there.

Inis-Patrick, mentioned in the next paragraph, is now Patrick's Island, near Skerries, Co. Dublin. Of the Synod held there by Maolmogue O'Morgair we have had a notice already, in the account of his life, at p. 101. The Four Masters (or whatever their authorities here,) in calling Maolmogue Coarb of Patrick in this place, and again in stating, in his Obit, that he had been Primate fourteen years, deliver themselves not accurately; as he had resigned the Coarbship in 1137; and in exercising his episcopal powers afterwards, beyond the Diocese of Down, did so as Pope's Legate, not as Patrick's Coarb. But the Irish Annalists, perhaps, in continuing to regard him in the aspect of Coarb or Primate to his death, only give utterance to that national feeling which could understand the authority of the Coarbship better than any derived from foreign institutions, and submit to

* Blinding of enemies, or of rival claimants of a chieftaincy, was very common among the Irish, and is often mentioned in the *Annals*.

it as invested with a claim on their affections far beyond any which the legatine commission could impart to the dignitary to whom it might be intrusted.

At the same year 1148, among the other entries inserted by the Four Masters in their Annals, are one or two additional ones besides those above-cited, in which a mention occurs of the Coarb of Patrick, and which it will accordingly be proper to subjoin here. After notice of one expedition by the Kinel-Owen people against Ulidia, a second of the same kind is thus mentioned:—

"Another expedition was made by Murtoogh O'Lochlainn and the Kinel-Owen people across Toome [*i.e.* between Lough Neagh and Lough Beg,] into Ulidia; when he expelled Cu-uladh O'Donlevy from Ulidia, and set up Donogh in his place. And they proceeded on this occasion into Maghera-Conaill, and burned all before them, save the churches only, which were saved by the Coarb of Patrick. . . .

"A meeting was held in Armagh by O'Lochlainn, with the Nobles of the Kinel-Owen people, and O'Carrol, with the nobles of the Oriel men, and the Nobles of Ulidia headed by their Lords: where they made perfect peace under the *Bachall-Isa*, in presence of the Coarb of Patrick and his Congregation. They all left hostages with O'Lochlainn.

A.C. 1150. "The Coarb of Patrick, and the Congregation of Patrick, [went] on a visitation circuit in Tyrone, where they received their full tribute of cows, *viz.* a cow from each house belonging to a *biatach* or freeman, a horse from every chieftain, and twenty cows from the king himself, [*i.e.* Murtoogh, son of Niall O'Lochlainn, king of Ireland, R.K.] A visitation of the Kinel Owen [or, Tyrone] people was made [also] by the Coarb of Columkille, Flaherty O'Brolchain, who received a horse from every chieftain, a cow from every *biatach*, a cow from every three freeholders, a cow from every four vassals, twenty cows also from the king himself, [with] a gold ring which weighed five ounces, his horse, and his battle dress; [*viz.*] from Murtoogh, son of Niall O'Lochlainn, then king of Ireland. . . .

"A royal journey was made by Murtoogh, son of Niall O'Lochlainn, with the chieftains of the North of Ireland, to Inishmot, [Co. Meath,] to meet O'Carrol and O'Ruairk. The hostages of Connaught were brought him from Turlogh [O'Connor] to that place, without his making an expedition [thither,] through the blessing of Patrick, and of the Coarb of Patrick and his Congregation. He divided Meath on this occasion into three parts, between O'Connor, O'Ruairk, and O'Carrol, and they banished Murrogh O'Melaghlin from Meath, through the curse of the Coarb of Patrick and his Congregation."

From the first of these two paragraphs we see that Tyrone was subjected this year to a double visitation, both the Presbyter Abbot of Derry, and the Metropolitan Archbishop Abbot of Armagh, levying contributions from its people, during its continuance. "The reader is to bear in mind that at this period Tir-Eoghain [*i.e.* Tyrone,] or the country of the Cinel-Eoghain, [or Kinel-Owen people,] comprised the whole of the present counties of Londonderry and Tyrone, and also the barony of Inishowen, in the county of Donegal, as well as parts of the present county of Armagh." (*O'Donovan*, at A.D. 1167 of the Four Masters, p. 1164.)

A.C. 1151. "A Cardinal from the Coarb of Peter, *viz.* John Paprion, arrived in Ireland, to establish regulations relative to conduct and manners, and to reform whatsoever was vicious in all. He stayed for a week in the house of the Coarb of Patrick at Armagh, and [then] left his blessing.

"A visitation of Connaught was made for the second time by the Coarb of Patrick, Gilla mac Liag, grandson of Rory: when he obtained his full tribute. O'Connor gave, on this occasion, to the Coarb of Patrick, a ring of gold of twenty ounces.

"A visitation of Sil-Casey [Co. Antrim,] was made by Flaherty O'Brolchain, Coarb of Columkille; who obtained a horse from every chieftain, a sheep from every hearth, and his horse, battle dress, and a ring of gold weighing two ounces from their lord, *i.e.* Cuuladh O'Lynn."

A.C. 1152. "A Synod was convened at Drogheda by the Bishops of Ireland, headed by the Coarb of Patrick, as well as by the Cardinal John Paprion, where were present three thousand ecclesiastics, between monks and canons, and where they introduced various enactments:—*viz.* That men should cease from all intercourse with mistresses and concubines. That no fee should be demanded for unction or baptism: and yet that it was not well to withhold it, if within a person's ability. That no [simoniacal] payments should be received for church property. But that Tithes should be received punctually. . . .

"A plundering expedition was made by Mac Lochlainn and the Kinel-Owen as far as to Inishmot, with a view to deposing O'Carrol. And he wasted largely before him on this occasion; and expelled O'Carrol from the chieftaincy of Oriel, in revenge for the Coarb of Patrick, whom he had outraged and wounded some time before.

"A meeting took place between O'Lochlainn and Turlogh O'Connor at Moy-Ene, [now the *Moy*, near Ballyshannon,] where they made friendship under the *Bachall-Isa* and relics (*miondaibh*,) of Columkille."

The account here given of the famous Synod held in Ireland this year by Cardinal Paparo is curious enough in one respect, as it omits all allusion whatsoever to that which other ecclesiastical writers describe as the great object of the Cardinal's visit to Ireland, and of the Synod itself, *viz.* the establishment in the island of four archbishopricks, and presentation of Palls to their several archbishops. Maolmogue O'Morgair had, as we have seen, from St. Bernard, procured that a Synod should be holden at Inispatrick in 1148, his principal object in which was to have an application forwarded to Rome, by authority of the Synod, for the Palls. But other matters were of more immediate interest to the ecclesiastics there assembled; and it was only on the fourth day that he could get the subject of the Palls introduced. Nor do the Four Masters, in their notice of that Council, make the slightest allusion to them, any more than in the present instance. Instead of mentioning, as Bernard does, that it was ultimately agreed, that Maolmogue should go for them, they merely say that it was agreed that he should go to *communicate with the Pope*, without saying about what. In fact, the old Annalists of Ireland seem to have been very slow in learning to appreciate the value and importance of the Palls, and were evidently more interested in recording matters comparatively far more insignificant in the eyes of the Roman Churchmen and historical writers of other countries.

ACCOUNT OF THE SYNOD OF Kells, A.D. 1152, FROM KEATING, WARE, &C.

The history of this Synod of Paparo's is, however, of no small importance in connection with the subject of the present Essay; as it was in it that the work commenced, and in part executed, at Rathbreasail, was confirmed and completed. It will be well, therefore, to supply the reader, from other sources, with somewhat fuller details of the matters transacted in it, before we proceed further. In the *Annals* of the eminent English Historian, Roger de Hoveden, (who flourished in 1198, and was patronised by Henry II.,) Paparo's visit to Ireland is thus noticed:—

"In the Year of Grace 1151, being the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of King Stephen, Pope Eugene sent with his Legate, John Paparo, four Palls to Ireland, a country to which no pall had ever before been sent: and established four archbishoprics in four localities, *viz.* Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Connaught." (Hoved. *Annal*. An. 1151.)

With this short account of Paparo's mission agree in substance those to be found in various other ancient Books of Annals and Chronicles by various authors, to which it is needless to refer particularly in this place. But the Synod and its results are described more at large by Keating and Ware, whose statements on the subject it will be desirable to give to the reader in full. That of Keating is contained in the passage of his History which here follows: (from pp. 697, *seqq.* of Dr. Todd's MS. Keating:—)

"Murtoogh, son of Niall Mac Lochlainn, succeeded to the government of Leath Cuinn, and of the most of Ireland, for eighteen years. It was in the seventh year of his government that the General Convention, or Council, of the Church of Ireland, at Kells in Meath, was held. This was in the year of our Lord 1152. [Its objects were]:—To exhibit a manifestation of the Catholic faith, and set it forth in its purity. To reform the habits of the people. To arrange for the establishing of four archbishops: and to give them four *Pallia*. For there had been in Ireland before that no more than two archbishops, *viz.* the Primate of Armagh, and the Archbishop of Cashel.

"They that acted as Presidents over this Council, on the part of the Pope, were, Gillchrist [or, Christian,] O'Conaire, Bishop of Lismore, Head of the monks of Ireland, and Legate, and, associated with him, a Cardinal whose name was *Johannes Paprion*, [commissioned] to establish rules of government and introduce reforms in Ireland: and to do, moreover, what Ireland relished less than that, *viz.* to distribute the four *Pallia*. For in their judgment it was enough that there should be a *Pallium* in Armagh, and a *Pallium* in Cashel. And it was in defiance of the clergy

of Armagh and Down, especially, that there were given out any more than the two *Pallia* just mentioned, as is indicated in the ancient book of the Annals of Clononagh-Fionntain of Leix, in which is given a summary of this Council.

"When the council had assembled, there were made, in connection with the distributing of the *Pallia*, constitutions and enactments of a very salutary character. The words of that ancient Irish Book, written at Clononagh, [on the subject,] are these: '*In the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord J. C. M.C. 12, being Bisextile and Embolismic,* there was celebrated in the Spring Season, at the Sunday of *Latare Jerusalem*, a noble Council, at Kells, the President at which, Lord John, Cardinal Presbyter of Blessed Laurentius in Damasco, assisted by twenty-two bishops, and five [bishops] elect, and by as many Abbots and Priors on the part of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of their Apostolic Lord Eugenius, proceeded to extirpate and condemn Simony and usury by all means: and gave orders, by virtue of the apostolic authority, for the payment of Tithes. He presented four *Pallia* to the four archbishops of Ireland, [those, namely,] of Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, and Armagh. He ordained, moreover, as was proper, that the Archbishop of Armagh should be Primate over the others. And immediately after the council ended, the said Cardinal John took his journey, and crossed the channel on the ninth of the Calends of April. [i.e. on March 24.]*'

"The following are the Bishops that were present in this Council, viz:—

"Giolla-Chriost O'Conaireche, Bishop of Lismore, Legate of the Pope in Ireland.

"Giolla MacLiag, Coarb of Patrick, and Primate of Ireland.

"Donnell O'Lonargan, Archbishop of Munster.

"Grene, [or Gregory,] Bishop of Dublin.

"Giolla-na-naov Leinster, Bishop of Glendaloch.

"Dungal O'Keely, Bishop of Leighlin.

"Toisilius, Bishop of Waterford.

"Donnell O'Fogarty, Vicar General of the Bishop of Ossory.

"Finn MacKeenan, Bishop of Kildare.

"Giolla-an-chove-ye O'Hardwill, Vicar of the Bishop of Emly.

"Gilla-Hugh O'Moyhan, Bishop of Cork.

"Mac Ronain, Coarb of Brendan, Bishop of Kerry.

"Torgestius, Bishop of Limerick.

"Murtogh O'Maolweer, Bishop of Clonmacnoise.

"Maelisa O'Connachtain, Bishop of East Connaught. [Roscommon.]

"O'Rudain, Bishop of Luigne, [i.e. Aghony.]

"Macraith O'Morain, Bishop of Conmhaicne, [i.e. Ardagh.]

"Ethru O'Meehan, Bishop of Clonard.

"Tuathal O'Connaghty, Bishop of Hy-Briuin, [or, Enaghdmun, Co. Calway.]

"Murray O'Cooley, Bishop of Kinel-Owen, [or, Tyrone.]

"Maolpatrick O'Banain, Bishop of Dalaradia, [i.e. Connor.]

"Maelisa Mac-in-clerichuir, Bishop of Uladh, [or, Down.]

"This Synod, convened for the rectifying and settlement of the Bishoprics of Ireland, assembled on the day previous to the Nones of March."

The Nones falling in March on the 7th of the month, and Easter Sunday happening in the year of this Synod on March 30, it follows that the Synod met on Thursday, March 8, 1152. Where it is said above that it fell "at the Sunday of *Latare Jerusalem*," or the Fourth Sunday in Lent, i.e. March 9, the meaning appears to be that that was the Sunday which occurred in or nearest to the session of this Assembly. The portion of the above account printed in italics is given by Keating in Latin, from the Book of Clononagh, while the remaining part is set forth by him in Irish.

Turning now to what Sir James Ware has published concerning the proceedings of this same Synod, we find a good deal on the subject in the sixteenth chapter of his *Antiquities of Ireland*; which, indeed, relates wholly to it, and may therefore, as it is not very long, be given here in full, excepting a portion, the introduction of which would involve unnecessary repetition. The Chapter in question commences thus: (pp. 83, seqq. of the Latin 12mo. Edn. Lond. 1658, or pp. 39, seqq. of the English Edition printed in Dublin, 1705.)

"CAP. XXXI. OF THE ANCIENT DISPOSITION OF THE BISHOPRICS OF IRELAND

"We have passed the Irish Parnassus, and now let us visit the Episcopal Sees. John Paparo, presbyter Cardinal, intitled St. Laurentius a Damaso, Legate from Pope Eugenius III., was sent into Ireland with 4 *Palls*, which, (as we have said,) in a Synod held in the month of March, 1152, he delivered to the 4 Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. As to the place where this Synod was held, authors vary. Some say it was in the Abbey of Mellifont, others at Kenanuse, or as we call it, Kells. In that Synod to each Archbishop was assigned a certain number of Suffragans, which in Cencius Camerarius's *Census Camerales*, (who was afterwards Honorius III.,) we find thus disposed:—

UNDER THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH:

The Bishopricks of	{	Conner, Dumdaleghlas, Lugud, Cluainiard, Connanas, Ardachad, Rathboth, Rathlurig, Damliag, Darrich;	}	or as they are since called,	{	Gonor, Down, Louth, or Clogher, Clonard, Kells, Ardachad, Raphoe, Rathlury, Duleek, Derry.	}

"Of this disposition some things are to be observed. For in the more modern times, not long after the coming of the English in Ireland, the Sees of Clonard, Kells, and Duleek, were united, and the bishops called Bishops of Meath, those sees being situated there. Likewise the see of Rathlury, [i.e. Maghera,] was united to the See of Derry. As to the See of Louth, the bishop thereof was sometime called Bishop of Louth, sometime of Clogher. For though those two were originally distinct, yet at last they were united, and so continued till the time of David O'Brogan, Bishop of Clogher in the time of Henry III. For then all the Deaneries of Ergal, [or Oriel,] which were heretofore subject to the Bishop of Louth or Clogher, together with the Church of Louth, were taken from it and united to the diocese of Armagh. Concerning which we have extant the action of the said David, dated at Perusium, in the 1d. of August 1252, commenced against Reiner, archbishop of Armagh, though to no purpose. Lastly, in this distribution, (which is not to be omitted,) there is wanting the Sees of Dromore, Clonmacnoise, and Triburnia; [properly, Tirbrunna, i.e. *Tir Briuin*, the Hy-Briuin Country. See p. 86 *sup*.] which last was afterwards called Kilmere, from the time that Andrew (Brady, if I mistake not,) bishop of that place about the year 1453, with consent of Pope Nicholas V. erected the parochial Church of S. Felim of Kilmere into a Cathedral. As to the order of sitting among the suffragan bishops of Ireland, in councils and elsewhere, the bishop of Meath had the first place, the bishop of Derry the second, and the rest took their places according to the time of their ordination.

UNDER THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN:

The Sees of	{	Glendelachi, Fern, Cainic, Leghlin, Childar;	}	now called,	{	Glendelagh, Ferns, Ossory, Leghlin, Kildare.	}

"The See of Glendelach, which in the Bull of Pope Lucius III., dated in 1182, (obtained by John Comin, archbishop of Dublin,) is called the bishopric of the Islands, was afterwards united to the See of Dublin. Some say that the See of Ferns was heretofore subject to the See of Menevia in Wales, but we pass such imaginary conceits.

UNDER THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL:

The Sees of	{	Cendaltuan, Limerick, Insula Gathay, Cellumabrach, Ole-imlech, Roscreen, Waltifordian, Lismor, Cluainvanian, Coreaia, Ros-Ailither, Ardfert;	}	now called,	{	Killalow, Limerick, Iniscatti, Kilfenoragh, Emly, Roscrea, Waterford, Lismore, Clon, Cork, Ross, Ardfert.	}

* i.e. 'interpolated,' or having a day added. It is in fact another name for a leap year. The '13' here appears to be obviously put by mistake, for '52.'
O *Jerusalem*: the title of an anthem or *introit*, appointed for use on the day in question, viz. the Fourth Sunday in Lent.

+ i.e. 'Be glad

"Of these the See of Iniscatti, after the coming of the English, was united to the See of Limerick, and that of Roscrea to Killaloe: so likewise the Sees of Waterford and Lismore were united, and those of Cork and Cloyne, and Emly and Cashel.

UNDER THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM:

The Sees of	{	Mago, Cell-alaid, Roscoman, Cluanfert, Achad, Cinani, Cell-mun-duac;	}	now called,	{	Mayo, Killala, Roscoman, Clonfert, Achonry, Clonmacnoise, Galway, or Kilmacough.	}

"Of these the See of Mayo was afterwards united to that of Tuam, as also (though omitted in the distribution,) that of Enaghdown, [or Annadown.] Likewise the See of Roscoman was translated to Elphin, and that of Cluan was united to the Province of Armagh, after a long debate at Rome between the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam. For I cannot but think that Cinani is corruptly there read for Cluana, (commonly Clonmacnoise,) both for the affinity of the name, and propinquity of that see, being divided from the province of Tuam only by the River Shenan."

Ware then proceeds to give, from an ancient MS., the names of the bishops that attended the Synod wherein the above distribution was made, after which he adds the remark, that

"There are likewise other episcopal sees in Ireland, before the coming of Paparo, whereof mention is made in writers, as the see of Trim, Slehti, Slane, Lusca, Ardmore, Ardarath, and to omit others, Saigre. But those, partly in the Synod above mentioned, partly soon after, were added to other sees."

Ware's list of the Bishops who attended at Kells has been omitted above, as agreeing almost exactly with that given by Keating from the Book of Clonenagh. There are however one or two differences which may be noticed here. First, in Ware's list, between O'Lonargain, Archbishop of Munster, or Cashel, and Grene, (or, Greri, as he has the name,) of Dublin, "Aeda O'Hossin, Archbishop of Connaught," i.e. Tuam, is inserted. Then, Ware calls Donnell O'Fogarty Bishop of Ossory, and Gilla-an-chove-ye O'Hardwill, Bishop of Emly, both of whom in Keating are but Vicars General of the corresponding bishops. And instead of "Finn Mac Keenan" he has "Finn Mac Tiarcaín," Bishop of Kildare. Lanigan says, (iv. 145,) that Ware "adds two bishops not mentioned by Keating or Colgan, viz. Ethru O'Miadachain, bishop of Clonard, and Tuathal O'Connachtaigh, bishop of Huambriuin, which he explains by Enaghdown, now Annadown." But this only indicates that Lanigan, and it seems, Colgan also, made use of a defective copy of Keating, the two bishops in question being found in the correct version of his history, as we have seen above. Lanigan has in that place other inaccuracies also, originating apparently in the same source, on which we have not space to dwell here.

Besides the catalogue of the bishops present at Kells published by Keating from the Book of Clonenagh, and that given by Ware from another ancient MS., there is a third extant, differing in some respects from both, which Dr. O'Connor has published from the old "Book of Flannan Mac Eogan." (*Rer. Hib. Scrip.* 2 *Prol.* p. 159.) It includes "Aed O'Ossin" of Tuam; styles the bishop of Kildare *Mac-Tiarcaín*; omits Gilla Aeda O'Maigin of Cork, and Mac Ronan of Clonfert, and exhibits some other peculiarities of its own. On the whole, while the list we have given from Keating seems the most correct and authentic of the three, the little variations observable in the others usefully mark their character as independent testimonies, and help to corroborate strongly the general accuracy of the history left us of the meeting to which they relate.

Cardinal Paparo, it seems, arrived in Ireland in A.D. 1151, although the Synod was not held until March 1152. But the intervening period was probably not greater than sufficed "for summoning the bishops to the council, their travelling to attend it, and other necessary preparations." (*Lan.*) Meanwhile the Cardinal paid a visit to Armagh, and stopped a week here with the Coarb of Patrick, consulting with him concerning the projected arrangements for the remodelling of the constitution of the Irish Church. What Paparo saw and heard after his arrival in this island, in connection with the state of ecclesiastical matters in it, would naturally produce or confirm in his mind the idea, that the Church here was altogether in a very shocking mess, and would require very vigorous treatment indeed to bring it into any kind of condition at all satisfactory to the feelings of a Roman Churchman. And he would accordingly be likely to find, while remaining in the country previously to the meeting of the Synod, abundant work to occupy his thoughts and fill his hands. Immediately after the notice of his visit to Armagh, the Four Masters record a visitation of Connaught by the Coarb of Patrick, Gilla Mac Liag, undertaken, if Dr. Lanigan's idea be correct, "apparently for the purpose of consulting with the king, Turlogh O'Connor, and forwarding the business of the approaching synod."

It is odd that doubts should have existed as to the place where this remarkable assembly met. According to the Annals of the Four Masters, and those of Innisfallen, as quoted by Dr. Lanigan, (iv. 142,) it was in Drogheda. An anonymous writer quoted by Ware has *Mell* for the name of the place, which Lanigan thinks to have given occasion to some, (Fleury, for instance, *Hist. Ec. L.* 69. s. 62.) to suppose that it was at Mellifont the council met. But according to the *Annals of Clonenagh*, the best authority available on the subject, Kells was the place of meeting; and this appears therefore to be the view adopted generally by the best informed writers on the subject.

To the passage of the Four Masters which contains the notice of the Synod, Dr. O'Donovan appends the note following:—

"Mr. Moore,* who regards this synod as one of great importance, writes:

"Besides the distribution of the palliums, the chief affairs that appear to have occupied the attention of the Synod of Kells were some enactments against simony and usury, as well as against the prevalence of marriage and concubinage among the clergy. There was also promulgated among the acts of this council, an order from the Cardinal, in virtue of his apostolic authority, for the payment of tithes."

"He, [i.e. Mr. Moore,] then writes in a note,

"It was surely unworthy of Dr. Lanigan, besides being shortsighted as a matter of policy, to suppress all mention, as he has done in his account of this council, of the above enactment of [qu. 'relative to?'] the marriage and concubinage of the clergy. He has himself, in another part of his work, (*chap.* xxxii. s. 8.) referred to some canons of the Irish church relating to the marriage of monks and clerks, which combined with other proofs, leaves not a doubt that on this point of discipline some of the Irish clergy followed the example set them at that time by their reverend brethren on the Continent." *Vol.* ii. p. 191."

On the statement of the Annals relative to the order for the payment of Tithes, Dr. O'Connor's observation is: "This first mention of Tithes is particularly worthy of notice." (*Rer. Hib. Scrip. in loc.*) But although the Cardinal gave his injunction for payment of the impost "by virtue of the apostolic authority," yet says Dr. Lanigan, (iv. 146): "On this point he was very badly obeyed; for it is certain that tithes were, if at all, very little exacted in Ireland until after the establishment of the English power."

It is quite clear that the accounts remaining to us of the matters transacted at the Synod of Kells, furnish us with any thing but a complete statement of the important proceedings in which Cardinal Paparo was a prime mover, there, and elsewhere, during his stay in Ireland. In proof of this it were enough to refer to the acts of another Synod, held at Newtown, near Trim, by Simon Rochfort, Bishop of Meath, in A.D. 1216, in the record of which it is asserted, that Cardinal Paparo, at

* i.e. Thomas Moore, the Poet, in his *History of Ireland*, comprised in four volumes of Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia.

the Synod of Kells, gave orders for the suppression, on the deaths of their several bishops, of all the smaller sees of Ireland, and the substitution of rural deaneries in their places. Now although this record (to be seen in Wilkins, *Concil.* Tom. 1. p. 547,) is quite sufficient to prove that such an order was given by Paparo, yet in the accounts of his proceedings, and of the Synod of Kells, which have come down to posterity, no direct statement to this effect is to be found. Again, John of Hexham, (*Johannes Hagulst. apud Twysden, Scriptores, ad an. 1152.*) in a very short notice of Paparo's doings in Ireland, observes that he effected a great reform in the practice of the people relative to the marriage covenant, of which they knew previously little or nothing. Of this again we find no mention in our Irish records.

Again, as to the arrangement of the Sees of Ireland established by order of the Synod, it does not appear certain that we have any exact Catalogue of them on record. Dr. Lanigan, at least, entertains no small doubt on this point, as will appear from the following note which he has on the subject, (in *Vol. iv. p. 148*, of his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* :—

"It is thus," he says, "the sees are reckoned by Keating, (Book 2. p. 104.) with whom Ware agrees (*Antiq. cap. 18.*) as to the names, although differently spelled, which he took from the *Census Camerales*, [i.e. 'Official Registers'] of Cencius, styled *Camerarius*, who was afterwards Pope Honorius III. It is odd that Derry is named among the Sees that existed at the time of the Council of Kells; for we read in the *Life of Gelasius*, that it was not a regular see until the year 1158, as Ware himself has at *Bishops of Derry*. And, what is equally strange, Keating reckons it among the bishoprics fixed by the Synod of Rathbreasail. But I greatly doubt, whether the suffragan sees enumerated by Cencius, were exactly the same as those fixed by the Synod of Kells; for Cencius wrote many years after the synod. On the other hand, Keating's list was, I believe, taken from that of Cencius, and thence the name of Derry might have crept into this account of the Synod of Rathbreasail."

In these remarks, however, Dr. Lanigan appears to be mistaken. The lists of the sees remaining to us, as drawn up at Rathbreasail and Kells, respectively, were, most probably, of a *provisional character*, specifying arrangements intended, indeed, but not yet existing, nor immediately consequent upon the publication of the decrees which gave them authority. And thus, in each instance, it was probably intended to include so famous a place as Derry among the localities chosen for the sites of the projected episcopal sees. But the arrangement was not acted upon for more than a century after the Synod of Kells, nor was there any diocese or see of Derry regularly constituted until after Cencius Camerarius was more than half a century dead. For he died in March 1227: and the establishment of a settled episcopal see at Derry took place only during the episcopate of Florence O'Caireallain, (Bishop of that See,) which lasted from A.D. 1279 to 1293. Flaherty O'Brolchain, or Brollaghan, Abbot of Derry, was indeed promoted to the episcopal dignity in 1158. But that honor, which had been enjoyed by some few of the preceding abbots of the same place also, did not imply the existence, or commencement, in it, of any succession of diocesan bishops, according to what we have already seen concerning the practice of the ancient Irish Church in this respect.

Finally, to draw to a conclusion our account of this Synod; we may remark, in the last place, that when Sir James Ware, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, sets himself to trace to their origin, (or at least to the most ancient period of their history within range of his investigations,) the diocesan arrangements established in this island, he seems to deal with the records of the Synod of Kells as the earliest he could meet with adapted to throw any light on the subject; not being acquainted, apparently, with the account of the earlier synod of Rathbreasail to be found in the *Annals of Clonenagh*. Now, in various ancient documents there exist many lists of the old episcopal sees of Ireland, but all of them of dates more recent than that of the Synod of Kells. This, combined with the circumstance that so many variations are observable between the different catalogues in question, sufficient to indicate the unsettled state of the arrangements to which those various catalogues refer, furnishes an incidental corroboration of the statement already set forth at large in this Memoir, that previously to the age of the Synods of Rathbreasail and Kells there was no such things as permanent episcopal sees, nor any regular successions of diocesan prelates, to be met with in the Irish Church.

Returning now to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the next passage of them which is of any interest in connection with our subject, reads thus :—

A.C. 1153. "A visitation of Dal-Cairbre, [i.e. the Route, Co. Antrim,] and Iveagh in Ulidia, [Co. Down,] was made by Flaherty O'Brolchain, Coarb of Columkille: when he received a horse from every chieftain, a sheep from every hearth, a *screeball*, a horse, and five cows from the Lord O'Donlevy, and an ounce of gold beside from his wife."

A.C. 1155. "Maolmuire Mac Gilla-chiarain, Erenach of the Fort of the Guests of Christ [*Lis-aoidheadh-Crist*] at Armagh, a venerable cleric, and hospitable to the laity and clergy of Ireland, [died.]"

A.C. 1157. "Cuulla O'Kenelwin, lord of Laoghaires, a man of hospitality unbounded as that of Guaire Aidhne, as courteous and as prosperous as Mongan, son of Fiachna, a bright lamp of charity towards the poor, a singular luminary of prowess among the Irish, was treacherously and perfidiously assassinated, while under the protection of the laity and clergy of Ireland, by Donogh, son of Donnell O'Melaghlin, king of Meath. The securities on his behalf were these: the Coarb of Patrick and the *Bachall-Ira*, together with the Legate, i.e. O'Conoirche: the Coarb of Columkille with his relics: Grene, Bishop of Dublin: the Abbot of the Monks [of Mellifont]: the Coarb of Kiaran with his relics: the Coarb of Fechin with his relics: O'Lochlainn, King of Ireland, (i.e. with opposition): Donogh O'Carrol, Lord of Oriel: Tiernan O'Ruairk, Lord of Brefny, Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, and the nobles of the men of Meath, and of the men of Taffia, [Co. Longford,] generally. Alas for the country where such a deed as that was perpetrated!"

"A Synod was convened of the clergy of Ireland, and of some of the kings, at the monastery of Drogheda, to consecrate the church belonging to the monks. [There were present] seventeen bishops, headed by the Legate and the Coarb of Patrick: and of persons of the various other orders the number was beyond telling. Of the kings, there were there, Murtoigh O'Lochlainn, Tiernan O'Ruairk, O'Hoey, and O'Carroll. After the consecration of the church by the Coarb of Patrick, Donogh O'Melaghlin was excommunicated by the clergy, and banished by the kings from his kingdom of Meath: and his brother Dermot was made king in his place. Murtoigh O'Lochlainn presented seven score cows, and three score ounces of gold, to God, and to the clergy, as an offering for his soul's health. He bestowed on them also a townland near Drogheda, viz. Finnawar-na-ninyen. O'Carroll also gave them another three-score ounces of gold: and the wife of Tiernan O'Ruairk, O'Melaghlin's daughter, as much more, and a golden chalice for Mary's Altar, and a cloth for each of the other nine altars that were in that church."

The *Monastery of Drogheda*, Dr. O'Donovan observes here, is the name usually given in the Irish *Annals* to the Abbey of Mellifont, Co. Louth. And so Dr. Lanigan also, (iv. 167.): "The 4 Masters say, that it was held in the monastery of Drogheda, meaning, as Colgan observes, Mellifont, which is near that town." The Abbot of Mellifont is named, we see, in the preceding paragraph, "*the Abbot of the Monks*;" to which Dr. O'Donovan correctly adds, "*of Mellifont*," by way of explanation. The numberless abbots mentioned in the *Annals* previously to the 12th century, are usually named from their several churches, or places of abode, as the Abbot of Lismore, of Bangor, &c.: and in those *Annals* the name of *monk* is hardly, if at all, to be met with. (p. 59, *sup.*) The abbatial office of those old Irish dignitaries appeared to have implied, in fact, a relationship to the whole Christian community in any of their different localities, analogous or very similar to that involved in the *pastorship* of a particular church or congregation. But the word *monk* occurs frequently in the *Annals of the twelfth Century*, to signify the members of the new orders, (the Cistercian, or that of St. Bernard in particular,) which then began to be propagated in Ireland. And the title *Abbot of the Monks*, applied in such an exclusive way to the prelate of Mellifont, appears to indicate, (according to the notion of Maolmogue O'Morgair and St. Bernard, expressed at p. 98 above,) that they were the only ones then in Ireland properly entitled to the name; and that their abbot was connected with their community in a sort of exclusive manner, which made his position and relationship to them, and to the church in their district, altogether different from what was usual with those called abbots, generally, in Ireland. This peculiar character of the old Irish abbots would seem to have originated at a period nothing later than the preaching of Christianity in the island by its great apostle. It seems to have been that

which belonged also to himself: as Dr. Lanigan is apparently not incorrect in asserting that, "St. Patrick was never a monk, properly so called," (*Ec. Hist.* i. 188.) although regarded by his Hibernian disciples as "Abbot of all Ireland;" (see p. 68, *sup.*) and known historically as the founder of many ecclesiastical institutions governed by successive *abbots*, marked in many respects with a monastick character, often called monasteries, and tenanted by communities observing a "regular" if not exactly "monastic" discipline. But these people were, after all, it seems, not monks, in a proper sense of the word, as used by some of those who should be best acquainted with its true application in the Church of Rome.

The Cistercian house of Mellifont, (in the now Co. of Louth,) the first of that order in Ireland, was founded in 1142, by Christian O'Conairche, and the others whom St. Bernard sent over for this purpose from Clairvaux. And the consecration of the church built there by the new community, as described in the above paragraph of the Four Masters, accompanied with such a splendid ceremonial, at which four Irish kings, and seventeen bishops, assisted, and with such costly offerings of royal magnificence, presents a sufficiently striking contrast to the simple mode of consecrating their places of worship adopted by the early church-founding saints of Ireland. Of their unostentatious devotion on such occasions, the *Annals* contain no record. But what their practice was, we are told elsewhere. Thus, Ethelwald, prince of the Deiri in England, in the seventh century, having requested Bp. Cedd, a disciple of the famous Irish bishop, St. Finan of Lindisfarne, "to accept some land, in order to build a monastery, to which the king himself might resort frequently, to pray to the Lord, and hear His Word, and where also he might bury his dead," Cedd, having chosen a retired mountain spot for the purpose, asked leave of the king "to remain there for the purpose of prayer, during the entire season of Lent, which was then coming on:" on every day of which, except Sundays, he proceeded to accompany his prayers with fasting, "stating it to be the practice of those from whom he had learned the system of regular discipline, whenever they received a new place for building a monastery or church, to consecrate it first unto the Lord, by fasting and prayer." (*Bed.* iii. 23.)

A.C. 1158. "A Synod of the clergy of Ireland was convened at Bri-mic Taidhg, [i.e. the Hill of the son of Teigue, a place near Trim,] in Laeghaire, where there were present 25 bishops, headed by the Legate of the Coarb of Peter, to enact rules for the promotion of discipline and morality. It was on this occasion that the clergy of Ireland, headed by the Coarb of Patrick, ordained, that there should be conferred on the Coarb of Columkille, Flaherty O'Brolchain, [a(n) episcopal] chair, similar to those of all the other bishops, and the arch-abbacy of the churches of Ireland generally. The bishops of Connaught, however, who were on their way to this Synod, were plundered and beaten, and two of their people killed, at Cuirr-Cluana, [i.e. the wooden bridge of Clonmacnoise,] after they had left Clon[macnoise], by the soldiers of Dermot O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and they returned to their homes. (See p. 7. *sup.*)

The account of this transaction in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* differs in some respects from that above given, and reads thus:—

A.D. 1158. "There was convocation of all the clergy in Ireland at Breyvicteig. The Bushopps of Connaught, with the Archbushop Hugh O'Hosyn, took their journey to come thither, and as they were passing towards Clonvicknose, with two of the Cowarbs of St. Keyran in their companie, and as they were coming to the joyste or wooden bridge over the Seanyn, [i.e. the Shannon,] at Clonvicknose, called Curr Clwana, they were mett by the rebell Carbre the Swift and his kearnie, who killed two laymen, and did not suffer them to go noe nearer the said convocation for another cause he had himself."

According to this, it was not any of the soldiers of the king of Meath, but some of his open enemies, that hindered the Connaught prelates from visiting Meath on the occasion before us: which seems more natural. Of the authority assigned by the Legate and Synod to O'Brolchain, in giving him the arch-abbacy of the churches of Ireland, the *Ordinance Memoir* of Derry, as we have seen, (at p. 7,) intimates that it is to be understood as extending only to religious establishments of the *Columbian order*. But this appears to be a mistake. O'Brolchain probably enjoyed that much authority already, independently of the Synod: and its intention was no doubt that expressed in the *Annals*, referring to the churches of Ireland at large. In other words, as the clergy, generally, were now placed under the superintendence of bishops, and those bishops made subordinate to archbishops, over whom again the Primate or Coarb of Patrick was to preside with a certain degree of authority, so, to aid in consolidating the system, wherever any church had for person an abbot, according to the old Irish mode, O'Brolchain was now appointed to be his arch-abbot. The distinction was, it would seem, intended only for temporary use, during O'Brolchain's life time; as a means, probably, of exercising some control over the most Irish portion of the ecclesiastics of Ireland, over those that would least willingly submit to the authority of the new diocesan prelates.

Father Colgan, it may be observed, in translating into his *Trias Thaumaturga*, (pp. 309 and 505,) the above passage of the *Four Masters*, with a view probably to saving the credit of Ireland a little, omits all mention of the attack on the Connaught archbishop and bishops. Having translated the statement of the 4 M. fairly enough as far as to "the arch-abbacy of the churches of Ireland," he sums up the remainder in the following very concise form. "The bishops of Connaught, however, were not present on this occasion."

A.C. 1161. "Murtogh O'Lochlainn became, accordingly, possessed of the undisputed sovereignty of Ireland. . . . Another expedition was made by O'Lochlainn into Meath, to attend a meeting of the men of Ireland, both laity and clergy, at Aghnadavry, [now Dervor, in the parish of Castlekieran, Co. Meath,] and he received all their hostages.

"It was on this occasion that the freedom of the churches of Columkille in Meath and Leinster was obtained by the Coarb of Columkille, Flaherty O'Brolchain: and he was given their tributes and the right of jurisdiction over them. For they had been previously in a state of subjection [to others]."

"A Visitation of Ossory was made by Flaherty O'Brolchain. And the tribute due to him amounted to seven score oxen: instead whereof, however, he chose to accept four hundred and twenty ounces of silver."

Keating says that in consequence of St. Columkille's having obtained (in A.D. 590,) the liberation of Scannlan, king of Ossory, from his imprisonment by Aodh, or Hugh, son of Ainmire, then chief monarch of Ireland, Scannlan decreed that every inhabited house in his realm of Ossory, from Slieve Bloom to the sea, should pay a tribute of a *seveaball*, or three pence, to the Congregation of Columkille's order at Durrow in that realm: which may have been the original occasion of the tribute now claimed in that far southern territory by the Abbot of Derry. The *Annals of Ulster* say that O'Brolchain "had 27 gifts collected for him; 420 ounces of pure silver, viz.; 30 ounces in each gift." [*Sic.*]

A.C. 1162. "Greine, [or, Gregory,] Archbishop of the Foreigners, [i.e. the Danes of Dublin,] and of Leinster, eminent for learning and acquaintance with various languages, died; and Lorcán, [commonly called Laurence] O'Toole, Coarb of Kevin, [i.e. Abbot of Glendaloch,] was appointed [or ordained] in his stead by the Coarb of Patrick.

"The monastery of the [Cistercian] monks at Newry was burned, with all its furniture and books, and the yew-tree likewise that Patrick himself had planted [there]."

"A Synod of the clergy of Ireland, headed by the Coarb of Patrick, Gilla Mac Liag, son of Bury, was convened at Clane, [Co. Kildare,] at which were present six and twenty bishops, and many abbots, to enact regulations of discipline and rules of conduct for the men of Ireland, both laity and clergy. And it was on this occasion that the clergy of Ireland established the rule, that no person should be allowed to become a lector [*fearleighinn*] in any church in Ireland, that had not been previously an *alumnus* [or pupil] at Armagh.

"A visitation of the Kinel-Owen [people, i.e. of the dwellers in the ancient Tyrone,] was made by the Coarb of Patrick, Gilla Mac Liag, son of Bury, the like of which had not previously occurred."

The law requiring the *Firleighinn*, or Lectors, of Ireland, to have studied at Armagh previously to exercising their

* From which the name *Newry* is derived. ("a Iur, i.e. "the Yew.")

office elsewhere, was no doubt intended to be a means of promoting uniformity of doctrine and discipline throughout the island at large. The last words above, relative to the visitation of Tyrone by Gilla Mac Liag, seem to imply, that he met on this occasion with a degree of acceptance and success among the people, such as had on no former occasion been experienced by him or by preceding Coarbs, at least since the days of Kellach; thus indicating that Gilla's personal qualifications had been very influential in winning the affections of the people to himself, and reconciling them to the change in the order of succession to the Coarship of Patrick, which had now been effected.

A.C. 1164. "Louth was burned for the most part, by a fire [which commenced] in the house of Donogh O'Carroll, lord of Oriel, in which Murtoth, son of Niall, king of Aileach, and the chieftains of Kinel-Owen, after having dishonored the *Bachall-Isa*, were [staying at the time]."

A.C. 1166. "Armagh was burned throughout the extent of two streets, from the Cross of Columkille to the Cross of Bishop Owen, and from the Cross of Bishop Owen in the second street to the Cross of the Rath-Gate, and all the Rath, its churches included, saving the *Regles* of Paul and Peter, [see p. 86, *sup.*] and a few houses beside, and a street to the west of the Rath, from the Cross of Seachnall to the Cross of Brigid, excepting a small portion."

"Hoey, son of Donlevy O'Hoey, king of Ulidia, a tower of Irish prowess and hospitality, was blinded by Murtoth O'Lochlainn: and the three best men of Dalaradia, viz. the two Mac Linchys, and the grandson of Casey O'Flarrey, were killed by the same king, in violation of the protection of the Coarb of Patrick and the *Bachall-Isa*, of Donogh O'Carroll, the lord of Oriel, and in violation of the protection of the relics, laity, and clergy, of all the North of Ireland. After this an expedition was made into Tyrone by Donogh O'Carroll, with a view to revenging the violation of the guarantee of Patrick, and his own guarantee. Three battalions of equal magnitude formed his army, the battalion of Oriel, the battalion of Hy-Briuin-Brefny, and the battalion of Conmhaicne. These forces advanced as far as to Letterloom, in the Fews of Iveagh, in Tyrone; [a place, probably, in the parish of Newtown Hamilton, Co. Armagh,] where they came up with O'Lochlainn and the Kinel-Owen, with a few troops. A fierce and merciless battle ensues between them, in which the Kinel-Owen were defeated, and in which also fell Murtoth O'Lochlainn, Supreme King of all Ireland, the candle of the valour and chivalry, of the hospitality and prowess, of the western world in his day, a man that had never been defeated in battle or conflict until then, and who had gained many a battle. There were slain along with him in that battle, O'Gilliland, and O'Howell, two distinguished chieftains, and Mac Gillamartain, chief of Kinel-Farry, and many beside."

According to the account of this matter in the Annals of Ulster, the king of Ireland was deserted by his own people, the Kinel-Owen, only a few of them accompanying him at the time of O'Carroll's attack, and those few forsaking him at the end; "whereby Murtoth O'Lochlainn, king of Ireland, was slayne, who was Augustus of the north-west part of Europe all, in all virtues, and a few of Kindred-Owen were slain, about 13; and that was a marvellous example, and a great miracle: the king of Ireland slayne without battle, or fight, through dishonouring the Coarb of Patrick, Jesus's Staff," &c.

A.C. 1167. "A great assembly of the chief men of Leath-Chuinn, lay and clerical, and of the chiefs of the Foreigners of Dublin, [was convened] at Athboy, [Co. Meath,] by Rury [i.e. Roderick] O'Connor. To it came the Coarb of Patrick, Kyley O'Duffy, archbishop of Connaught, Lorcan O'Tool, archbishop of Leinster, Tighearnan O'Ruairk, Lord of Brefny, Donogh O'Carroll, Lord of Oriel, and Mac Donlevy O'Hoey, King of Ulidia; also, Dermot O'Melaghlin, king of Tara, and Rannall Mac Rannall, Lord of the Foreigners. The entire number present at this gathering and assemblage amounted to thirteen thousand horsemen, whereof six thousand were from Connaught: four thousand with O'Ruairk, two thousand with O'Melaghlin, four thousand with O'Carroll and O'Hoey, two thousand with Donogh Mac Faelain [of Hy-Faelain, Co. Kildare,] and one thousand belonging to the Foreigners of Dublin. At this meeting they passed many good resolutions concerning the veneration due to churches and clerical persons, and the government of tribes and territories: so that the women of Ireland were able to go alone, [i.e. unprotected, the country being so peaceable.] And a restitution of his prey was made to the Coarb of Patrick by the Hy-Failghe, [or Offaly people,] at the hands of the kings aforesaid. They separated afterwards in peace and amity, without battle, without strife, without one having complained of another in that convention, owing to the prosperity of that monarch who had assembled together those chieftains and their forces. . . . Dermot Mac Murrogh returned from England with an army of Foreigners, and took possession of the kingdom of Hy-Kinshela," [or Wexford.]

What was the precise nature of the injury done to the Coarb of Patrick, for which restitution was made by the Offaly men on the occasion above alluded to, we are not further informed.

A.C. 1169. "This was the year in which Rury O'Connor, king of Ireland, made a grant of ten cows a year, from himself, and from every king that should succeed him, for ever, to the Lector of Armagh, in honor of Patrick, [to the intent] that he should give lessons to the students of Ireland and Alba, [i.e. Scotland,] generally."

"A fleet of the Flemings came from England, in the service of Mac Murrogh, [i.e. Dermot,] to secure him the kingdom of Leinster. With them were also sixty champions armed with coats of mail. [Rury O'Connor, king of Ireland, proceeds at the head of considerable forces to attack the strangers, of whom, according to the 4 M. they made little account, and soon routed them: as the result of which,] Dermot Mac Murrogh gave his son as a hostage to Rury O'Connor. The kingdom of Kinel-Owen was assumed by Conor O'Lochlainn."

In the *Welsh Chronicle of Caradoc* of Llancarvan, who flourished in this age, it is mentioned at A.D. 1108, that numbers of people from Flanders, driven from their own country by an inundation of the sea, obtained from Henry, King of England, grants of land in Wales, where Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordwest, were afterwards built. From that part of Wales came the fleet aforesaid, which gave occasion to the Irish Annalists (whose countrymen then kept up constant intercourse with the Welsh people,) to style it a fleet of the Flemings.

A.C. 1170. "Conor, son of Murtoth O'Lochlainn, lord of Kinel-Owen, and Royal Heir of Ireland, was assassinated in the middle of the Triam-Mor of Armagh, on Easter Saturday, by Hugh Beg Mac Cann, and the Hy-Caracain, [a sept belonging to the parish of Killyman.] . . .

"Robert Fitz-Stephen and Richard, son of Gilbert, i.e. Earl Strongbow, came from England into Ireland with an innumerable host, and many knights and archers, in the service of Mac Murrogh, to secure Leinster for him, and to crush the Gael population of Ireland at large; and Mac Murrogh gave his daughter [Eva in marriage] to Earl Strongbow, for coming over in his service. They took possession of Wexford, and entered Waterford by storming, and made Mac Gillemaire, captain of the Fort, prisoner, as well as O'Phelan, lord of the Decies, and his son. And they slew there 700 persons." . . . [Then follow further notices of skirmishing and fighting between Mac Murrogh, aided by his foreign supporters, and the Irish national party, in various parts of the island.]

"The hostages of Dermot Mac Murrogh were put to death by Rury O'Connor, king of Ireland, at Athlone; namely, Conor, son of Dermot, Heir apparent of Leinster, and Dermot's grandson, i.e. the son of Donnell Cavanagh, and a son of his foster brother, i.e. O'Keely."

"Donnell Bregach and [the people of] East Meath turned against O'Ruairk and O'Connor, and gave hostages to Mac Murrogh. [Whereupon] the hostages of East Meath were put to death by Tighearnan O'Ruairk. . . .

"A deed of unprecedented atrocity was perpetrated by Manus O'Hoey, king of Ulidia, and the monk Awlwe, son to the Coarb of Finnian of Moville, [Co. Down,] and by the Ulidians in general, (with the exception of Bishop Maelisa, and Gilladonart, son of Cormac, Coarb of Comhghall, and Maolmartain, Coarb of Finnian, and their people:) i.e. the expelling of the congregation of religious monks with their abbot, whom Maolmogue O'Morgair, Legate of the Coarb of Peter, had established in Saul-Patrick, [i.e. Saul, Co. Down,] from the monastery which they themselves had founded and erected. And they were utterly spoiled of all their books and ecclesiastical furniture, their cows, horses, and sheep, and of every thing [in short] which they had collected from the time of the Legate aforesaid until then. Woe to the lord, and to the chieftains that perpetrated such a deed, at the instigation of one whom the monks of Drogheda [i.e. of Mellifont,] had expelled from the abbacy for his own crime! Woe to the country where it was perpetrated! It did not, however, pass without vengeance from the Almighty: for by a few of their enemies were the chieftains that had perpetrated the deed, slain together. And the king soon after came to an untimely end, being wounded and slain in the town where that unrighteous determination had been adopted, i.e. in Down. On a Tuesday the congregation was expelled. On that Tuesday twelvemonths the chieftains of Ulidia were slain, and the king wounded. On a Tuesday that came not long after, he was killed by his brother, in Down."

The above selections from the matters recorded by the Four Masters at A.D. 1170 of their Annals, furnish a very minute and inconsiderable specimen indeed of the fearfully disordered and barbarous condition of Ireland at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion, as depicted by those Annalists in other entries to no end; entries which we have not cited, as they have no immediate connection with our subject. The transaction described in the last extract above is rather obscure, from brevity of style. But the deposed Abbot of Mellifont alluded to in it would seem to be the same whose death, 46 years after, is thus noticed in the *Annals of Kilronan*, which appear to take a very different view of the justice of his sentence:—

A.D. 1216. "Gregory, son of Gilla-na-naingéal, [or, of Angelleus,] abbot of the monks of Ireland, in pace quievit, [i.e. entered peacefully into rest;] in the East, being expelled by the monks of Drogheda through envy and jealousy."

A.C. 1171. "Dermot Mac Murrogh, king of Leinster, by whose instrumentality all Ireland was made a trembling sod,—after having brought over the Saxons, after having multifariously injured the Irish, after having plundered and burned many churches, as those of Kells, Clonard, &c., died within a year [following,] of an intolerable, unexampled, sickness. For he became subject to decomposition while yet alive, through the miracles of God, Columkille, and Finnian, and the other Saints of Ireland, whose churches he had some time before profaned and burned. And he died at Ferns intestate, without penitence, without the Body of Christ, without unction, as his evil deeds deserved." [Then follow accounts of many plundering excursions by various parties of the Irish against others of their countrymen, attended with sanguinary conflicts.] . . .

"Henry II. king of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Andegavia, and lord of many other countries, came into Ireland this year. Two hundred and forty was the number of his ships, and it was at Waterford that he came to land."

A.C. 1172. "A complete visitation of the Province of Connaught was made for the fourth time, [and continued on] to Armagh, by Gilla Mac Liag, Coarb of Patrick, and Primate of Ireland."

Brief Notice of the Synod of Cashel. A.C. 1172.

This was the year in which was convened the famous Synod of Cashel, of which a full account is supplied us by Giraldus Cambrensis, and shorter notices by Roger Hoveden and other historians of that age; although no mention of it is to be found, strange to say, in the Annals of the Four Masters. Yet they place on record an account of another synod of much less importance, held also this year, viz. one of the clergy and laity of Connaught, convened at Tuam, by King Roderic O'Connor and Cadhla (or Catholicus) O'Duffy, archbishop of that Province: of the proceedings of which, however, they tell us no more, than that "Three churches were consecrated by them."

Giraldus Cambrensis professes to give the Acts of the Synod of Cashel "in the very words in which they were originally published:" and from his narrative is taken the following abridged account of a matter of too much importance to our general subject to be passed over here in such silence as the Four Masters observe in regard to it. The Synod, we may observe, was held early (that is, some time before Easter,) in the year 1172.

"The king," says Giraldus, "earnestly desiring to magnify the honor of the Church of God, and the worship of Christ, in those parts, summoned a council of all the clergy of Ireland to meet at Cashel. Where (after that the enormities and abominations of that country and people had been enquired into, and enumerated publicly, and also carefully committed to writing, under the seal of the Bishop of Lismore, the Legate, who ranked in dignity above the rest there present on this occasion,) he issued several sacred enactments, which are still on record, concerning the Marriage contract, the payment of Tithes, the honoring of churches, and frequenting them with due devotion; laboring by every possible means to reduce the state of that church to conformity with the model of the Church of England."

Accordingly, in this year 1172, the first year of Henry's "Conquest" of Ireland, "Christian, Bishop of Lismore, and Legate of the Apostolic See, Donatus of Cashel, Laurence of Dublin, and Catholicus of Tuam, archbishops, with their suffragans and episcopal brethren, with abbots also, archdeacons, priors, and deans, and many other prelates of the Irish Church, assembled, by express order of the triumphant prince, in the city of Cashel, and there held a Council, with a view to promoting the church's welfare, and effecting an improvement in her condition. At this council were present, commissioned on the part of the king, these following, viz. the Venerable Ralph, Abbot of Buildwas, Ralph, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the Chaplain Nicholas, and other clerks and commissioners of our Lord the king. And the statutes of the council were subscribed and confirmed by authority of the king's highness. [viz.]

"I. In the first place it was enacted, That all the faithful throughout Ireland, desisting from connections with their near relations, whether by kindred or affinity, shall contract and observe lawful marriages.

"II. [orders the baptism of infants to be performed publicly and reverently.]

"III. That all the faithful of Christ shall pay Tithes of their cattle, corn, and other produce, to the church of their own parish.

"IV. [Forbids the exacting of refectons or subsidies on the church lands by the secular chieftains. See this act cited in full at p. 18. *sup.*]

"V. [That where a fine was paid, (i.e. an *eric*, as it was called,) for homicide, no clerical persons, unless actually accessory to the crime, should be required to pay any portion of the amount.]

"VI. [Gives directions for the making of wills, and for the distribution of the testator's effects, according to family circumstances; requiring that a third, or half, of the property should be set apart for the obsequies of the deceased head of a family.]

"VII. Seventhly, That due care be taken to celebrate the obsequies of those who die after a good confession, with masses, wakes, and decent burial.

"[VIII.] Likewise, That all divine [or, spiritual] matters shall for the future be regulated, in all parts of Ireland, according to the usage of Holy Church, as exemplified in the Church of England."

In the Annals of Ireland by Thady Dowling, Chancellor of the Diocese of Leighlin, (who died, aged 84, in 1628,) there is given an account of this Synod, which, though agreeing pretty closely with that of Giraldus, appears to have been taken, at least in part, from some other authority, as it differs in some respects from that just noticed. For instance, the last two statutes of the Council, in Dowling's Annals, read thus:—

"7°. That the funerals of deceased persons are to be conducted and celebrated with devoutness and solemnity: and that all the neighbours, whether they may have been enemies or not, are to have liberty to come and go freely, at the time of the funeral rites and obsequies.

"8°. That the Church of Ireland is to observe uniformity with the Church of England, according to the use, custom, rite, and ceremony, of the Church of Salisbury." (*Dowling's Annals*, by Butler, *Irish Archæol. Soc.* p. 12.)

Giraldus, after his account of the Synod of Cashel, goes on to say, that "the Primate of Armagh, being hindered by bodily infirmity and advanced age, was not then present. But he came afterwards to Dublin, and expressed his full acquiescence in all the king's arrangements. He was in popular estimation a holy man; and it was his custom to take with him, whithersoever he went, a white cow, the milk of which formed his only sustenance." (*Hib. Exp.* c. 34.) In the next following extract from the Four Masters, we have a record of the death of this venerable personage.

A.C. 1173. "Gilla Mac Liag, son of Rury, Coarb of Patrick, Primate of Armagh and of all Ireland, a son of virginity, full of purity of heart toward God and toward man, died, after a choice old age, a pious death, on the 27th of March, the Wednesday after Easter, in the 87th year of his age. He had been 16 years in the abbacy of Columkille in Derry previously to [his appointment to] the Coarship of Patrick."

The Four Masters' Notices of the Coarbs of Patrick who lived subsequently to the Anglo-Norman Invasion; &c.

A.C. 1174. "The Diocese of West Meath was annexed to the See of Clonmacnoise, by arrangement of the Clergy of Ireland."

A.C. 1175. "Flaberty O'Brolchain, Coarb of Columkille, Tower of wisdom and hospitality, to whom the clergy of Ireland had given a bishop's chair for his goodness and wisdom, and had offered him Coarship of Ia, [i.e. Iona,] after having borne patiently much suffering, [literally, 'after choice tribulation,'] died piously in the *Dubh-Regles*, [i.e. Black Abbey] of Columkille [in Derry]: and Gilla Mac Liag Ua Branain was appointed to the abbacy in his stead.

"Conor Mac Conchoille, Abbot of the *Regles* of Paul and Peter [at Armagh], and subsequently Coarb of Patrick, died in Rome, having gone thither to communicate with the Coarb of Peter."

A.C. 1177. "Cardinal Vivian came to Ireland. A Synod of the clergy of Ireland, including bishops and abbots, was held in Dublin, the Cardinal presiding, on the first Sunday in Lent. And they enacted various good regulations, not [however, subsequently] put into practice."

A more particular account of Vivian's proceedings on this occasion is furnished us in various other ancient authorities: the epitome of which in Dowling's Annals, abovementioned, reads thus:—"Vivian, Cardinal of the Title of St. Stephen in *Monte Celio*, came into Ireland as Legate of the Apostolic See, with a commission from Pope Alexander to proclaim [to the people] the title and interests of their lord the king of England in the island of Ireland, with reservation of Peter's pence, and also to denounce excommunicate and accursed, all that would resist the soldiers and ministers of their lord the king, or that would refuse to supply them with victuals and food at a reasonable price." (p. 13.)

Of the proceedings of this same personage in Ireland in this year 1177, a curious notice occurs in the *History of England in his own time* by William of Newbridge, a contemporary writer, and one of course belonging to Vivian's own communion. After mention of the respectful treatment met with by the Cardinal in Down, this author goes on to speak of the Synod which he held in Dublin, &c., in the terms that follow:—

"He, [i.e. Cardinal Vivian,] was shewing about the Letter of the King of England to his officials in Ireland, with a view to securing the support of their influence, to enable him to discharge the duties of his legatine office among the barbarians. From such countenance deriving security and confidence, he made his way to Dublin: and assuming a style of authority, as the accredited agent, whether of his lord the Pope, or of the King of England, he summoned together the prelates and abbots of Ireland, and held a general synod. But when he shewed a disposition to carry on his proceedings rather too freely after the Roman style, in the churches of a people of barbarous simplicity, the king's officers giving him to understand that he must either go his way, or else fight with them, he returned to Soothland, having secured but little Irish gold, a commodity for which he had been sorely thirsting." (pp. 301, 302, Par. 1610.)

With this agrees the account of Hamner. (*Chron.* pp. 295, '6, Edn. 9898):—"He filled his bagges with the sinnes of the people: the English captains understanding of it, gave him in charge, either to depart the land, or to go to the warres, and serve for pay with them, and no longer to receive money for nought." The latter course was however too agreeable to the Cardinal's mind to be readily abandoned, he being, according to the *Annals of Melrose*, (ad. an. 1176,) "one that was for trampling and smashing all before him; a sharp hand at gathering what he could by fair means, and no way backward at having a little more by foul;" "one whose legateship," adds a brother Cardinal, the famous Baronius, "could not possibly have come to any good end, scandalised as it was by his infamous greed of gold." (*Annal.* ad an. 1183. 8.)

Roger Hoveden says that Vivian, having spent Christmas in the Isle of Man, with its king Gothred, came after Epiphany to Downpatrick, on his way to Dublin: but was made prisoner there by the soldiers of John De Courcy, the Invader and Conqueror of that part of Ireland. De Courcy however soon set him again at liberty. It was in this year that De Courcy became master of Down, having expelled from it Mac Donlevy, king of Ulidia, of which it was the capital. Mac Donlevy collected afterwards, it is said, an army of 10,000 men, with which he returned to dis-

lodge the invaders. But De Courcy and his men went out to meet them, and after a hard fought battle gained a complete victory. According to the Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, after the defeat of the Irish, "all the English of Dublin," having come to support De Courcy,—

"Melaghlin O'Neill, [properly, Mac Loughlin,] at the head of the Kinel-Owen, and Rory Mac Donalevy at the head of the Ulidians, accompanied by the Archbishop of Armagh, [viz.] Gilla-an-choimdedh O'Carran, the bishop of Ulidia, and the clergy of the North of Ireland, repaired with their noble relics to Downpatrick, to take it from John de Courcy. A fierce battle was fought between them, in which the Kinel-Owen and Ulidians were defeated, with the loss of five hundred men, among whom were Donnell O'Lavery, chief of Clann Hamill . . . [and sundry other chieftains.] The Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Down, and all the clergy, were taken prisoners; and the English got possession of the Croziers of St. Comgall and St. Dachiarog, the *Canoin Phatruic*, [see pp. 33, 34. *sup.*] besides a Bell called *Ceolan an Tighearna*. They afterwards, however, set the bishops at liberty, and restored the *Canoin Phatruic* and the Bell; but they killed all the inferior clergy, and kept the other noble relics, which are still in the hands of the English."

A.C. 1179. "Armagh burned, with its churches and abbeys, [lit. 'Regleses,'] excepting only Brigid's *Regles*, and the Temple-na ferta, [or, Miracle Church,] . . . O'Rogan, Lord of Iveagh, died of a three nights' illness, shortly after having been deposed for profaning of the *Canoin Phadrug*."

A.C. 1181. "Tomaltach O'Conor was appointed to the Coarbship of Patrick. A visitation of the Kinel-Owen people was made by him; when he received from them his demand, and left them his benediction."

A.C. 1184. "Maelisa O'Carrol was appointed to the Coarbship of Patrick, on its having been resigned by Tomaltach O'Conor."

A.C. 1185. "Arlave O'Murray, Bishop of Armagh and Kinel-Farry, [a district nearly coextensive with the present Barony of Clogher, Co. Tyrone,] a brilliant lamp that enlightened laity and clergy, died. And Fogarty O'Cairreallain was appointed in his stead."

The record of the death of this same individual as given in the *Annals of Ulster* includes one or two particulars omitted by the 4 M., and runs thus:—

A.C. 1185. "Arlave O'Murray, Bishop of Armagh and Kinel-Farry, a brilliant lamp that enlightened laity and clergy, rested in Christ at Duncruthna, and was brought honorably to Derry-Columkille, and buried at the feet of his father, the bishop O'Coffey, in the side of the Little Church."

But according to the statement of the *Ordinance Memoir* of Derry, (p. 31,) "the Four Masters have obviously fallen into an error of transcription, in writing *Armagh* for *Ardstrow*," in the above entry: the person referred to having been, according to that *Memoir*, Bishop of *Tyrone*, the episcopal see of which territory was then at Ardstraw. His father, bishop O'Coffey, seems to be the same with Murray O'Coffey, who figures as Bishop of Tyrone at the Synod of Kells.

A.C. 1187. "Maelisa O'Carrol, Bishop of Oriel, [i.e. Clogher, O'Don.] died."

This appears to be the same individual as was already mentioned at A.D. 1184 as having been in that year appointed Coarb of Patrick. But according to Ware, after having been at first Bishop of Clogher, he "being elected Archbishop of Armagh, died on his journey towards Rome in the year 1184." "Where he went," adds Harris, "to solicit his Confirmation and Pall from the Pope." (p. 180.)

A.C. 1189. "Armagh plundered by John de Courcy, and the foreigners of Ireland who followed him."

A.C. 1190. "A meeting [took place] between Cathal Croddearg and Cathal Carrach, at Clonfert-Brendain, to establish peace between them. All the Siol-Murray people attended the same meeting; the chief promoters of which were, the Coarb of Patrick, and Conor Mac Dermot, and Airectach O'Roduibh. They were unable however to effect a reconciliation between the parties on this occasion."

The Coarb of Patrick here intended was Thomas, or rather Tomaltach, O'Conor, whose name has been mentioned at A.D. 1181 and 1184 above. According to Ware, after his voluntary resignation of the See, ("probably to avoid the tumults of war,") to Maelisa O'Carrol, bishop of Clogher, of whom before, he subsequently, "after the death of Maelisa in 1184, and of his successor Amlave, the year following, reentered on the see, which he governed for 16 years after." He was, according to the Annals of St. Mary's Abbey near Dublin, "a noble and a worthy man;" and being of Connaught extraction, and related to the rival princes concerned in the dispute above referred to, was the more anxious to reconcile them to one another, and restore his native province to tranquillity. (See Harris's *Ware*, Bps. p. 62, and O'Donovan in loc.)

A.C. 1196. "Murtogh, son of Murtogh O'Lochlann, lord of Kinel Owen, and Royal Heir of Ireland, tower of the valour and energy of Leath-Cuin, Destroyer of the cities and castles of the Foreigners, Founder of churches and fair sanctuaries, was assassinated by Donogh McClosky O'Kane, at the instigation of the Kinel-Owen, after they had pledged him their fidelity on the three shrines, and the *Canoin Phadrug*. His body was brought afterwards to Derry-Columkille, and buried there with honor and respect."

A.C. 1199. "Maelisa Mac Gilla Erain, Erenach of Kilmore Onelland, and intended Coarb of Patrick, died."

This entry suffices to shew that the old Irish method of appointment to the Coarbship was not yet wholly lost sight of. (See pp. 78, 75. *sup.*)

A.C. 1201. "Tomaltach O'Conor, Coarb of Patrick, and Primate of Ireland, died."

"Johannes de Monte Celio, Cardinal of the Coarb of Peter, came to Ireland from Rome. There was convened to meet him, at Dublin, a great Synod of the bishops and abbots, and of every ecclesiastical order, and including beside them a considerable number of the Irish gentry also. All their ordinances relative to clergy and laity were such as accorded with justice and truth. A Synod [was held] for Connaught [also], under the superintendence of the same Cardinal, at which many excellent ordinances were enacted."

The Cardinal here spoken of was John of Salernum, concerning whom Ciaconius, in his *Lives of the Popes*, (Rome 1677, tom. I. col. 1180,) mentions, that "while he held the office of Legate for England and Ireland, Innocent III. wrote him many letters, directing him, among other things, to abolish that abusive practice followed in Ireland, of sons and grandsons succeeding to their fathers and grandfathers in ecclesiastical benefices." In the different and sufficiently voluminous collections of Innocent's Letters which have been printed, those to John of Salernum abovementioned are not to be found;—a circumstance confirmatory of the statement of the learned Stephen Baluze, Editor of the Paris impression of these Letters, of 1682, (t. ii. p. 533, col. l.) that "there is no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that this Register of Innocent III. [as we have it,] is in a mutilated condition."

But that Pope Innocent's attention was drawn to the subject in question, and that he did write to Ireland to convey such an injunction as that attributed to him by Ciaconius, is testified even by this imperfect Register, in a letter addressed "to Donatus, Archbishop of Cashel, and his Successors to be hereafter canonically substituted, for ever," bearing date, April 6, A.D. 1210; in which, among other directions given to Donatus, Innocent orders "that no person must be allowed to possess by hereditary right the cemeteries belonging to churches, or ecclesiastical benefices." The purport of the letter here cited, as expressed in its title, is to the effect, that pope Innocent "receives under the protection of the *Apostolica See*, the *Church of Cashel and its possessions*, and sends the Pall to its Archbishop," telling him withal on what occasions he was to use this decoration, "the plenitude of the pontifical office," as it is styled in this epistle.

A.C. 1206. "The Coarb of Patrick went over to visit the king of England, to make application to him on behalf of the interests of the churches [of his country] and to complain of the Foreigners [i.e. Anglo Normans,] in Ireland."

The Coarb of Patrick here spoken of was the famous Eachdhon (or Eugene) Mc Gilliwee, the first Archbishop of Armagh who appears to have been advanced by the Pope's provision. For an account of the dispute between the electors, which gave the Pope, as well as the King of England, an opportunity of interfering on this occasion, see Harris's *Ware*, pp. 62. *seqq.*

A.C. 1216. "Eachdhonn McGilliwee, Coarb of Patrick, and Primate of Ireland, died in Rome, after a good life."

A.C. 1220. "Jacob came into Ireland as Legate from the Pope, to regulate and order what concerned the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland: and went back again."

In the Annals of Clonmacnoise his visit is thus noticed:—"A.D. 1220, Jacob, the Pope's Legate, came to Ireland this year, went about all the Kingdoms for the Reformation of the Inhabitants, and constituted many wholesome rules for their salvation."

But in the Irish *Annals of Kilronan*, or Book of the O'Duigenan's, which Dr. O'Donovan characterises (*Annals of the 4 M.* p. lxx.) as "a most curious and valuable manuscript volume of Irish Annals," the account given of this same visit is such as to indicate, that the attention of the Legate Jacob was not wholly engrossed in promoting the spiritual welfare of the Irish; for they speak of him thus:—

"A.C. 1221. Jacob Pencil came to Ireland as a Legate from Rome, to settle what related to the ecclesiastical state. And he collected horse-loads of gold and silver from the clergy of Ireland by Simony; and left Ireland the same year."

A.C. 1242. "A great Chapter of the Abbots of Canons in Ireland was held at Louth, by the Primate of Armagh, [viz. Albert of Cologne,] when a display was made of several relics which Mochta had collected [and brought over] from Rome." [Literally, "many relics were taken up." Mochta was, it is said, a disciple of St. Patrick, and first bishop of Louth. See p. 8. *sup.*]

A.C. 1246. "Albert the German, Archbishop of Armagh, removed to Hungary."

A.C. 1248. "Raigned, Archbishop of Armagh, came from Rome, bringing with him a *Pallium*, and said mass in it on the Festival of Peter and Paul, in Armagh."

The *Pall* was to be worn only on great Festivals and days of high solemnity; one of which was to be the anniversary of the archbishop's consecration day. The archbishop here mentioned is in Ware's History of the Bishops called *Reiner*.

A.C. 1251. "Raigned, Archbishop of Armagh, died at Rome."

A.C. 1254. "Donlevy O'Flynn, Abbot of the *Regles* of Peter and Paul in Armagh, died; and Patrick O'Murray, prior of the same house, was chosen to the abbey."

A.C. 1256. "Abraham O'Connellain, Archbishop of Armagh, obtained a *Pallium* from the Court of Rome, and said Mass in it in Armagh on the second day of the month of June."

A.C. 1260. "The order of bishop was conferred on Melaghlin O'Conor by the Coarb of Patrick, in Dundalk." [This O'Conor was bishop of Elphin.]

"Abraham O'Connellain, Coarb of Patrick, died."

A.C. 1261. "Maolpatrick O'Scannail, Bishop of Raphoe, was chosen Archbishop of Armagh."

A.C. 1262. "Maolpatrick O'Scannail, Archbishop of Armagh, said Mass in a *Pallium*, in Armagh, in the Octave of John the Baptist."

A.C. 1264. "The Archbishop of Armagh, Maolpatrick O'Scannail, introduced the Friars Minor into Armagh . . . Primate O'Scannail afterwards caused a broad and deep trench to be sunk around their church."

The ruins of this establishment, of considerable magnitude, and covered with very old ivy, still remain, to attract the attention of visitants at the palace, on the left hand side of the Market St. entrance to the Primate's demesne, close to the garden wall.

A.C. 1268. "The great church of Armagh was commenced by Primate Gillpatrick O'Scannail."

This is the same individual who had just before been called *Maolpatrick*. Ware says that "he repaired and much beautified the Cathedral of St. Patrick at Armagh." According to this, the *great church* (in Irish *tempall mor*, i.e. "great temple") abovementioned is the same as the *Daimhliag*, or *Duleek*, mentioned at A.D. 1125, &c. which, with the other churches of Armagh, was destroyed by fire in 1189, and had perhaps continued in a state of ruin until Primate O'Scannail set about reedifying it.

A.C. 1270. "Maolpatrick O'Scannail, Archbishop of Armagh, went over to see the King of England. The king received him honorably, and he returned home [invested] with great powers."

A.C. 1293. "It was revealed to Nicholas Mac Maelisa, Coarb of Patrick, that the Relics of Patrick, Columkille, and Brigid, were in Saul, [Co. Down;] and they were taken up by him; whereupon followed great wonders and miracles; and he placed them honorably in a Shrine again."

According to Giraldus Cambrensis, who is here followed by Colgan, Ussher, Lanigan, &c., the relics of the three saints above mentioned were discovered by a different person, at a different place and time. The curious account of the transaction put on record by Dr. Lanigan reads as follows:—

"It being generally believed that the bodies of the three saints were in Down, Malachy its bishop, [i.e. its fourth bishop from Maolmogue O'Morgair, inclusive,] used to pray frequently to God, that he would vouchsafe to point out to him the particular place or places, in which they were concealed. While on a certain night fervently praying to this effect in the church (cathedral) of Down, he saw a light, like a sunbeam, traversing the church, which stopped at the spot, where the bodies were. Immediately procuring the necessary implements, he dug in that spot and found the bones of the three bodies, which he then put into distinct boxes or coffins, and placed again under ground. Having communicated what occurred to John de Courcy, then lord of Down, they determined on sending messengers to Pope Urban III. for the purpose of procuring the removal or translation of these relics to a more respectable part of the church. The pope agreeing with their request sent as his legate on this occasion, [in A.D. 1186,] Vivian, Cardinal priest of St. Stephen in *Monte Celio*, who had been at Down nine years before, [i.e. in 1177, see page, 110,] and who was well acquainted with John de Courcy, and the bishop Malachy. On his arrival the relics were removed with the usual solemnities to a more distinguished part of the church, on the 9th of June, the festival of St. Columba. They were deposited in one monument, according to the well known distich,

[One common grave in Down the three now fill,
Patrick, and Brigid, and pious Columkille.]

"Besides the Cardinal, there were present at this translation *fifteen bishops*, together with abbots, provosts, deans, archdeacons, priors, &c. It was resolved that the anniversary should be celebrated in Ireland as a festival, and that the feast of St. Columba should be transferred to the day after the Octave of said festival, that is, to the 17th of June. . . . Yet this regulation has not been observed, for St. Columba's festival is still kept on the 9th of June." (Lanigan's *Ec. Hist.* iv. 275—277.)

A form of religious service, with prayers and lessons for the newly appointed festival, was drawn up, and has been printed at Paris in 1620, entitled, the *Office of the Translation of Saints Patrick, Columba, and Brigid*. It has been republished also by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, and in part by Messingham, and Archbishop Ussher.

According to the Four Masters, as we have seen, the vision which revealed the resting place of the saints, appeared, not in 1186 to Malachy, Bishop of Down, but in 1293 to Nicholas Mac Maelisa, Primate of Armagh; and it exhibited them, not at Down, but at Saul, a couple of miles to the east of it. Dr. O'Donovan's note on these discrepancies, at the year of the Annals in question, is worth citing here, as throwing a curious light on the whole transaction. It reads thus:—

"It is a very strange fact that the body of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, was said to have been pointed out by an angel at Glastonbury the year before.—See Ussher's *Primordia*, p. 692. But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with the history of the relics of the *Trias Thaumaturga* is, that the Irish annalists—that is, such as wrote in the Irish language, do not appear to have ever heard of the discovery of them by Malachy in 1185; and hence it is but fair to conclude, that Malachy's dream at Down was got up by the English party, in order to add dignity to Down, then in the possession of Sir John de Courcy. It is quite evident that the mere Irish never heard, at least never believed, this story of their discovery at Down in 1185; for, if they had been deposited in a costly shrine at Down in 1185, as stated by Giraldus, it is hard to believe that they would have been lost in the course of the next century, so as to make another revelation necessary for their discovery in 1293, when it would appear they were under the earth at Saul, in a spot unknown to all except Nicholas Mac Maelisa, the Archbishop of Armagh, to whom it was pointed out in a vision. It seems therefore quite clear, that the discovery of them at Down in 1185, was, like the prophecy of Merlin, already alluded to under the year 1177, a scheme of Sir John de Courcy and his writers, and that their discovery at Saul, in 1293, was a counter-scheme of Nicholas Maelisa, who was one of the greatest opposers of the English that ever governed the See of Armagh. It may however have happened that both bishops had dreamed of bones, and that bones were found in both places." (O'Donovan's *Notes* at A.D. 1293.)

A.C. 1299. "Nicholas Mac Maelisa, Archbishop of Armagh, the cleric that was of all others the most godly and pious in Ireland in his time, departed this life."

A.C. 1343. "David Mageraghty, Coarb of Patrick, died."

A.C. 1356. "Farrel, son of Geoffrey Mac Rannall, Primate of Armagh, and Successor (*feartonaid*) of Patrick, died."

"This," Dr. O'Donovan says, "is evidently a mistake of the Four Masters, as we know from the public records that the Primate of Armagh was Richard Fitz Ralph, who was certainly not of the Mac Rannalls. See Prince's *Danmhuille orientales illustres*, p. 294, and Harris's *Ware*." Dr. O'D. has not been able to find this entry in any of the older Irish Annals, and so, concludes it to be a blunder. Fitz-Ralph, however, is but an English or Anglo-Norman translation of *Mac Rannall*; which seems to suggest that the Farrell Mac Rannall here mentioned may have been a near connection of the famous Richard Fitz-Ralph, who was Primate from 1347 to 1360.

A.C. 1455. "Owen O'Neill was banished from his lordship by his own son, Henry, son of Owen. The Coarb of Patrick, Maguire, Mac Mahon, O'Kane, and all the Clanna-Neill, accompanied Henry, son of Owen, son of Niall Oge, to Tullyhog, to inaugurate him, and they gave him the title of O'Neill according to the lawful mode of procedure." (See p. 38. *sup.*)

A.C. 1463. "The King of England sent presents to O'Neill (Henry, son of Owen,) viz. eight and forty yards of scarlet [cloth,] and a gold chain, *et cetera*."

A.C. 1486. "A General Chapter was convened in Drogheda, on the Fifth of the Ides of July, by the archbishop of Armagh, viz. Octavianus the Italian, which was attended by the bishops and clergy of the whole of the North of Ireland."

Here end our citations from the Four Masters. From whose Annals we have now extracted, and set before the reader, every passage in which occurs any mention of a Coarb of Patrick, or Bishop, or Archbishop, of Armagh. From the time of Gelasius downwards, it will be easily observed, that these notices are of an altered style and character. Just as the general matter of the Annals expands more and more, becoming in later times exceedingly voluminous and full of other details, the space occupied by any entries relating to the Coarbs of Patrick shrinks into contracted limits, and at last becomes a cypher. While the few of those entries that do occur after the period of the invasion exhibit plainly signs of the alteration that had taken place in the church constitution of Ireland, in regard to connection with Rome, by their repeated references to the use of the *Pallium*, or *Pall*, and other features of a kindred sort. The Irish chroniclers had ceased to regard the Coarbship of Patrick with the same interest as when it had been a purely national institution; and whether the holder of it in the Anglo-Norman times were to be thought of with favor, indifference, or hostility, came to be a point which depended more on his personal character and influence, and on the circumstances of the country in his day, than on any continued association of his name with the memory of Ireland's Apostle. Of very many primates who came subsequently to Gilla Mac Liag, including some of great eminence, not a syllable of notice occurs in the Annals. Of the famous Colton, and his metropolitical visitation of Derry (see p. 25. *sup.*) they tell us not a word; although another record, in the Latin tongue, remains to inform us of that interesting journey. For soon after the point at which the Irish Annalists begin to fail us, and be no longer serviceable in this respect, the story of the Coarbs is taken up by other Chroniclers,—by the scribes and registrars of the Anglo-Roman primatial court of Ireland, whose voluminous records yet remain to tell of many a curious particular, many a fact of historic interest and importance, connected with the persons and the times to which they immediately refer.

For the reader who desires to pursue the subject farther, Ware's *History of the Archbishops of Armagh*, from the twelfth century downwards, will be found a useful guide; that part being free from the influence of those utterly unfounded and erroneous views which render the earlier portion of the same work of comparatively little value, and which in this memoir an attempt has been made to expose and correct. Even in the earlier period, however, of the history of the real archbishops of Armagh, commencing with Maolmogue O'Morgair and Gilla Mac Liag, much remains to be done in correcting and enlarging the accounts furnished by Ware and Harris. But these are matters on which we have no occasion to dwell further at present.

We shall conclude this Essay, which has now run to a far greater length than had ever been contemplated at the outset, by submitting to notice two interesting catalogues of the ancient prelates of Armagh, which have never before, as far as the writer knows, been published. One such catalogue, from the Psalter of Cashel, and which Colgan represents as a "Catalogue of the Primates, or Archbishops, of the Metropolis of Armagh," has already been inserted at p. 67 of this Memoir. Of the two following, the first is taken from the well-known ancient Irish Manuscript called the *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 98. b.b. [recte 108. b.b.]) in which it bears the heading "Do comarbaib Patrick *isao*," i.e. in English, "Of the Coarbs of Patrick here" followeth an enumeration. The second, from the almost equally well-known *Leabhar Buidhe Leacan*, or "Yellow Book of Leacan," has in the original no heading. All which helps to corroborate the probability of the suggestion at page 67 being true, according to which the title of Colgan's Catalogue would be an addition of his own, altogether unauthorised by the ancient record which was his authority in that instance.

Catalogue of the ancient Prelates, or Abbots, of Armagh, from the time of St. Patrick to the twelfth century.

(From the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 98. b.b. [recte 108. b.b.])

"Of the Coarbs of Patrick, here [followeth an enumeration:]

"Patrick, in the cxxxth [year] of his age entered into rest. Sechnall. xlii.	Senach. annis. xv. Mac Laisre. xlii. an. Tomine. xxxv. an. Segine. xxvi. an.	Condmac. xlii. a. Torbach <i>uno ano</i> . [i.e. 'one year.'] Nuada. lii. a. Mac Longsig. xlii.	Cathussach. liii. Maelcaba. v. an. Maelbrigte, son of Dornan. xxxix. an. Josep. ann. ix.
Benen, son of Seognen, psalm-singer to Patrick, of Keenaght of Glengaimen [now Dungiven, Barony of Keenaght, Co. Derry,] of the seed of Teige son of Cian, of Cashel, (who flourished A.D. 228.)	Flandfebla, son of Scannail, i.e. the foster-son of Berchan, son of Mican, xxxvii. a. Suibne in sui. [i.e. Sweeny the Sage.] xli. a. Congus. xx. a. Ceilepetair. viii. a. Ferdacrich. x. a. Foendelach. vi. a. Dubdaleth. xviii. Oirechtach. i. an. Cudinisc. liii. a.	Artir duobus, a. [i.e. 'two years.'] Eogan Mainestrech mac Buti meic Bronaig, viii. [This is apparently a mistake for "Eogan Mainestrech Buti meic Bronaig, viii." i.e. Owen, of the Monastery of Boice, the son of Bronach. See p. 30. <i>sup.</i>] Forandán. xlii. a. Dermait. liii. ann. Fethgna. xxv. a. Ainmire. <i>uno. a.</i> [i.e. one year.]	Maelpatric. <i>an uno</i> . Cathassach. xx. an. Muiredach son of Fergus. ix. an. Dubdalethi son of Kellach. xxx. lii. Muirecan. lii. a. Maelmuire. xlii. a. Amalgaid. xxix. a. Dubdalethi. li. an. Cummasach. lii. an. Moelissa. xx. vii. an. Domnall. viii. an.

Similar Catalogue of the Ancient Prelates of Armagh, from the *Leabhar Buidhe Leacan*. (H. 2, 16, col. 338.)

a-Patraic. xv. Sechnall. xlii. Sen-Patraic. x. Benen. x. Jarlath. xliii. Patric. liii. Cormac. xv. Cormac. 7. Dubtach. 7. Ailill. Ailill. x.	Duach. Fiachra. Feidlim. x. Ceirellan. x. Eochaid. xv. Senach. xli. Mac Laisre. xliii. Tomine. xxvii. Segine. xxvii. Flandfebla. xliii. Suibni. xv.	Congus. xx. Ceilepetair. vii. Ferdacrich. Foendelach. x. Dubdalethi. xviii. Airechtach. i. Cudinisc. liii. Condmac. xvi. Torbach. i. Nuada. lii. Maelongai. xvii.	Artir. ii. Eogan Mainestrech. viii. Forandán. xviii. Dermait. vii. Fethgna. xxv. Ainmire. i. Cathassach. vii. Maelcaba. v. Maelbrigde. xxix. Josep. ix. Maelpatric. i.	Cathassach, son of Fergus. xx. Muiredach, son of Fergus. ix. Dubdalethi, son of Kellach. xxxviii. Muirecan, son of Eochaidh. xix. Maelmuire. Amalgaid. Dubdalethi.	Cummasach. lii. Maelissa. xxvii. Domnall. xliii. Kellach. xxvii. Muireachtach. lii. Maelmuire. hua Mon-ghair. Gilla-mac Liac, son of Dermot, son of Bury."
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FINIS.

INDEX.

N.B.—In this Index, the names in small capitals, as *AINMIRE*, &c., are those of the *Coarbs*, or *Successors of St. Patrick*, who lived before the 12th century, and were wholly independent of any submission to the Pope or See of Rome. The *Bishops of Armagh* of the same period are thus distinguished, *+Ailill*, &c.

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N.B.—An *erratum* has occurred relative to this abbot at p. 72, in the omission of an extract which should have followed (under the same year,) the last there cited, ending with "Ere," to this effect: "*Flannghas, son of Loingseach, abbot of Armagh, died.*" See the Catalogues at pp. 67 and 112.

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Suibhne, son of FAIRNEACH, Abbot of Armagh, N.B.—The entry relative to this abbot in the Four Masters, inadvertently omitted at p. 73, of this Memoir, should have been inserted as follows: A.D. 829.—

"Suibhne, son of Fairneach, Abbot of Armagh for the space of two months, died."

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